

THE  
**ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,**  
UNDER THE SANCTION OF  
**THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.**

Vol. 15. No. 3—New Series.]

MARCH 1, 1867.

{Price Fourpence Stamped  
Threepence Unstamped}

CONTENTS.

|  |    |   |    |
|--|----|---|----|
| Monthly Summary .....                    | 49 | Mr. Thomas Harvey on Jamaica .....            | 63 |
| Parliamentary Record .....               | 52 | Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P., on Martial Law ..... | 66 |
| Perambulating Jamaica Bishops .....      | 53 | Mr. Sumner on National Equal Right .....      | 70 |
| Appeal of a Coloured Man .....           | 54 | Flogging in Trinidad and Demerara .....       | 70 |
| The Coloured Men to Congress .....       | 56 | Review .....                                  | 71 |
| Memorial of the late Joseph Sturge ..... | 59 | Advertisement .....                           | 72 |
| Notice to Friends and Subscribers .....  | 60 | Donations and Subscriptions—1867 .....        | 72 |
| The Jamaica Massacre .....               | 60 | Form of Bequest .....                         | 72 |
| Impeachment of President Johnson .....   | 62 |   |    |

**Monthly Summary.**

**DOMESTIC.**—A subscription list has been started in Calcutta, in aid of the funds for the prosecution of ex-Governor Eyre, and the amount collected has been received by Mr. Chesson, the Honorary Secretary to the Jamaica Committee. The list includes the names of three rajahs, and thirty-four native merchants and landowners of Bengal.

It is reported that some of the newly-appointed magistrates for Jamaica, from the English, Scotch, and Irish bars, left Southampton by the mail steamer of the 2nd ultimo.

On the 16th ultimo application was made by Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, (instructed by Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe, solicitors) on behalf of Mr. J. S. Mill, M.P., and Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., prosecutors for the Jamaica Committee, to Sir Thomas Henry, at Bow-Street Police court, for warrants for the arrest of General Nelson and Lieutenant Brand, on a charge of the murder of G. W. Gordon. Mr. Stephen went into the legal bearings of the case, and witnesses were called to shew the grounds upon which the application was made. Sir Thomas Henry adjourned the matter till the 7th, when, further evidence having been adduced, the warrants were issued.

On the 8th, Lieutenant Brand was brought up. Mr. Shaen conducted the prosecution. Sir Thomas Henry explained to the prisoner the nature of the charge preferred against him, and the depositions of Dr. Fiddes and Mr. Lewis having been read over, he was bound over in two sureties of 200*l.* each, and his own recognizances

of 500*l.*, to appear on the 12th. Two gentlemen, Mr. Francis W. Rowsell, 8 King's Bench Walk, Temple, and Mr. Thomas Stilwell, Navy Agent, 22 Arundel Street, Strand, offered themselves in the course of the afternoon, as sureties for his appearance on remand. They were then bound over, and the prisoner was liberated.

On the 12th, General Nelson also appeared in court, having surrendered to the warrant out against him. Mr. John Horne Payne now acted with Mr. Fitzjames Stephen for the prosecution; Mr. Bristow appeared, on behalf of the Admiralty, for Lieutenant Brand; and Mr. Claude Scott, solicitor for the War department, for General Nelson. On the application of Mr. Bristow that the prisoners should be allowed to stand on the floor of the court, the magistrate assented; but the prisoners declined, and remained in the dock.

The day's proceedings closed by the prisoners being remanded, under bail, till the 9th, when the case was further remanded until Saturday the 23rd.

On this occasion counsel was heard on each side, and the case was concluded by the committal of the prisoners for trial at the Old Bailey sessions on the 8th of April next, the prisoners being held to bail. At the three last sittings General Nelson and Lieutenant Brand were accommodated with seats at the attorney's table.

The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* are actively continuing their efforts for the completion of the preliminary arrangements for the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference. On the 8th ultimo a deputation, consisting of Mr. Joseph Cooper, the Rev. Dr. Massie, and L. A. Chamerovzow, to whom were after-

wards added Mr. Henry Pease, and the Rev. Henry Richard, had an audience of M. le Marquis de Lavalette, Minister of the Interior, at his official residence, Place Beauvau, Paris, for the purpose of placing in his hands a requisition for the necessary authorization to hold the Conference. This document was signed by Lord Brougham, Mr. Charles Gilpin, M.P., Sir Thomas F. Buxton, Bart., M.P., Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P., Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P., and by the sub-Committee of the *Anti-Slavery Society* appointed to carry this matter forward. The requisition was supported by the Right Honourable Lord Stanley, who very kindly furnished the deputation with a letter to the Honourable Julian Fane, *Chargé d'affairs* at the British Embassy, Paris, in the absence of Earl Cowley. His Excellency, the French Minister, received the deputation with marked courtesy, and graciously accorded the permission solicited.

**Parliamentary.**—In answer to a question from Major Jervis, Mr. Disraeli intimated that the Government had undertaken the defence of General Nelson and Lieutenant Brand, on the ground that it was its duty to do so, the acts of these gentlemen when acting under superior orders having been legally impugned.

**BRAZIL.**—Special advices from Brazil give us the details of the measure for the liberation of a certain class of slaves, to which reference was made in our last summary.

The Decree is dated the 6th of November last, and declares to be free, the slaves belonging to the public domain, who shall enter the army. The number of these is about 3000. The decree sets forth that this emancipation is conceded to them gratuitously,\* and is extended to the wives of such of them as are married. 225 of these freedmen, many of whom are married, and who belonged to the household of the Emperor, had already left for the army, and it is said that none refused their liberty on these conditions. The Emperor is himself the author of this measure.

The Government has also given instructions for the extension of this measure to the farms of the public domain situated in the provinces of Piauhy, Maranhao, and Pará, in the extreme north. The estimated number of slaves on these farms is 1427, of whom 704 are males, and of these one half are fit for military service.

It is stated that the Government intends to liberate the slaves belonging to the mortmain establishments, such as convents, hos-

pitals, &c., and that, during the present session, the Parliament will not only declare freedom to all slaves whatever belonging to the public domain, without insisting upon their taking military service, but will also initiate some measure for general emancipation.

A Brazilian slave, who had never received a lesson in sculpture or in design, sends to the Paris Exhibition a marble statue, representing a Cupid. It is said to be strikingly original in design and beautifully executed, and is the only work of art from Brazil which will be exhibited. The sculptor has received letters of manumission, and a national prize-medal, and is to proceed to Paris with his statue.

**PORTUGAL.**—On the 1st ultimo the Portuguese Minister for the colonies submitted to the Cortes the draft of a Bill for the immediate abolition of Slavery in the Transmarine provinces and possessions of Portugal.

**SPAIN.**—The colonial Reform Commission, or Junta, is still in session at Madrid, but has not yet concluded its labours.

The firm attitude of the Porto-Rico delegates, which had been greatly strengthened by the approval of the abolitionists of their own island, and of the liberal party in Cuba, had emboldened them and their supporters. We are assured that the plan of abolition, which we published in our last Number, and which was prepared by Señor de Orense, Señor de Fíguerola, and others, is in course of reconstruction on a more radical basis, as it does not, in its present form, meet the advanced views of the abolitionist party.

**UNITED STATES.**—*Congressional.*—The Reconstruction Committee has reported a Bill for dividing the States which took part in the rebellion into five military districts, under military governments.

The Judiciary Committee still continued its deliberations on the impeachment of President Johnson. It sits with closed doors.

The Senate has concurred in the House amendments to the Nebraska and Colorado Bills, and the Bills in that form have therefore passed both Houses. The amendment, in its original form, was, that the Act should take effect only upon condition that no distinction be made in civil or political rights on account of colour, this condition to be submitted to a vote of the people, and accepted by them; but it was rejected by yeas 8, nays 24. Another amendment, however, that the Act shall take effect with the fundamental and perpetual condition that within the State there shall be no abridgement or denial of the exercise of the elective franchise, or of any other civil right, by reason of race or colour, excepting Indians not taxed, was

\* We confess we cannot see the force of this clause.—ED. A. S. R.

adopted; yeas 20, nays 18; and the Bill in this form was passed.

The President vetoed both these Acts, reiterating his objections to the Bills for the same purpose passed at the last session, and then vetoed; but the Senate adopted them over the veto.

A Bill was also passed providing that there shall be no denial of the elective franchise in any of the Territories, now or hereafter organized, on account of race, colour, and previous condition of servitude, and being, in the form in which it passed, an amendment to a Bill from the House, it was concurred in by that body. Both these Bills have become law without the President's signature, they not having been returned to Congress within ten days after having been presented to him.

The Bill repealing the authority given the President to grant a general amnesty has also become law in the same way.

A resolution, which had been previously adopted by the House, was reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations, declaring the coolie trade odious to the people of the United States, as inhuman and immoral, and that it is abhorrent to the spirit of modern international law and policy, which have substantially extirpated the African slave-trade, to permit the establishment in its place of a mode of enslaving men, differing but little from the former, except in substituting fraud for force; and that it is the duty of this Government to give effect to the moral sentiment of the nation, through all its agencies, for the purpose of preventing the further introduction of coolies into this hemisphere or the adjacent islands; and it was adopted.

In the House a Bill has been passed providing that no person shall be allowed to act as an attorney or counsellor in any United-States' court who has been guilty of treason, bribery, murder, or other felony, or who has given aid or encouragement to enemies of the United States in armed hostility thereto; the judges being required to inquire into the truth of charges of such disability when made against any person proposed as an attorney in said courts, and to exclude him, if proved guilty.

A preamble and resolution had also been adopted, setting forth that the constitution and laws of Maryland disfranchise those who aided or encouraged the rebellion; but that it is alleged that many persons so disqualified did vote at the last election in that State, and that armed United-States' forces were ordered by Federal authority and did co-operate with the Executive authority of Maryland and others to override the laws; and directing the Committee on Elections to inquire into the facts. Stevens' Bill for re-establishing civil go-

vernment in South Carolina was discussed at much length on several successive days, without final action.

*States' action.* — The pending Constitutional Amendment has been ratified by sixteen States, viz. Connecticut, New Hampshire, Tennessee, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Oregon, Vermont, New York, Ohio, Missouri, Kansas, Maine, West Virginia, Illinois, Indiana, and Minnesota. The ratification by four States more would give the necessary number to make it a part of the constitution, if the twenty-six States now represented in Congress be considered as alone entitled to decide the question. Thus far no Southern State, except Tennessee, has ratified it, and Mississippi must be added to the list of those which have peremptorily rejected it, the legislature having done so by a unanimous vote.

The State Senate of Maine has concurred with the action of the House in ratifying the 14th Constitutional Amendment, the vote being unanimous. In the discussion all the speakers united in declaring that the amendment did not go far enough, and that they were in favour of giving coloured men equal civil and political rights with whites. Both Houses of the legislature of West Virginia and Minnesota, and the Senates of Pennsylvania and Indiana, have also ratified the amendment.

Two branches of the Kansas legislature have adopted the 14th Constitutional Amendment, the House by a vote of 75 to 7, the Senate unanimously. The House of Representatives of New York has ratified it by 70 to 35, the Senate having previously done so; and in the legislatures both of Maine and Nevada the House has taken the same course, the former by 126 yeas to 12 nays, the latter by 34 to 4.

Both Houses of the Maryland legislature have passed a Bill prohibiting the sale of coloured convicts.

The Tennessee legislature has amended the franchise law so as to admit the negroes to vote. The Supreme Court of Tennessee is considering the constitutionality of this step.

The Indiana and Nevada legislatures have ratified the constitutional amendment.

The Negro Testimony Bill has been defeated in the Kentucky Senate.

*Miscellaneous.* — A college for young coloured men has been established at Washington, called the "Howard University."

A coloured man in Wilmington, North Carolina, has had letters of administration granted him as executor of the estate of another coloured man, deceased. It is probably the first instance of such a grant or such administration at the South.

Joel Lindsley, the clergyman who whipped his little boy to death in Shelby, Orleans county (United States), has been sentenced to imprisonment in the State prison at Auburn for four years and three months. The jury found a verdict of guilty of manslaughter in the second degree, the penalty of the crime being imprisonment for not more than seven nor less than four years.

Mr. George Peabody, the benevolent millionaire, has surpassed all his other works of beneficence by giving 2,100,000 dollars as a fund for the education of Southern youth, black and white; 1,100,000 dollars of this sum is in Unrepudiated Mississippi State Bonds.

Alabama has just taken a State census, and reports a total population of 945,244, whereof 442,445 are blacks. In 1860 she had 964,296, of whom 435,132 were slaves. Her black inhabitants are as numerous as in 1860, while her whites are but 20,000 fewer. The Southern States have generally nearly, if not quite, as many inhabitants now as in 1860, and will have more in 1870. The stories that the blacks are "dying out" seem to be utterly baseless. A good many have migrated northward, or been taken to Texas; but they will number at least 4,000,000 in 1870.

Communications from Texas represent, that in the north-eastern counties of the State the freedmen are more oppressed and brutally treated than in the days of Slavery. The lash is more cruelly administered than ever before, and freedmen, who have cultivated land and raised crops, have been robbed of all the fruits of their toil. A member of the grand jury of Red-River county was heard to say that they dared not indict these criminals known to them to be guilty. Outrages, from cold-blooded murders down, have occurred, and there is no one to whom the blacks can appeal for redress. A recent letter from Austin gives an account of the murder of two freedmen—one near Austin, and the other at Home Bend. The murderers were white men. A case is reported where a freedman at Prairie Lea was cruelly whipped for addressing a young man as "Tom," instead of "Master Thomas." Another was shot for refusing to lend his bottle of whisky to two white men. The civil authorities will not take any steps to bring the offenders to justice. In Panola county there exists a gang of five or six white men who live by robbing the freedmen. The citizens themselves are afraid of them, and the civil authorities powerless, because witnesses dare not testify against them. The military commandant at Victoria having refused to assist the Freedmen's Bureau officers, General Griffin, the military commander of the State, has issued an order to the effect

that all military officers must assist the Bureau in the contingencies provided for in the Bureau and Civil-Rights Acts. The only cheering news from the State relates to labour. General Kiddoo, in a recent tour of observation, found the negroes actively making contracts for the ensuing crop. In spite of immigration there is still a paucity of labourers.

An Ohio friend, who has been planting cotton in Louisiana for the past year—his first farming experience—writes to the *New-York Tribune* as follows:

"My experience with the negroes left me no doubt as to the entire practicability of growing cotton by free-labour. But negroes, like other labourers, must be handled with discretion and by men of executive capacity. It is amazingly easy for a fool to find the negroes unwilling to work for him."

A coloured lawyer, J. M. Langston, of Oberlin, Ohio, has been admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States. This is the second instance of the kind, the first admission of a coloured man to that bar having taken place about two years since.

Five of the nine judges of the United States Supreme Court gave a decision on the 14th Jan. ult., declaring unconstitutional that part of the present constitution of the State of Missouri which forbids any persons to officiate as ministers of religion, teachers, or legal advocates in court, without taking an oath that they had not participated in or sympathized with the rebellion.

**WEST INDIES.—Jamaica.**—The last mails bring no intelligence of importance from this island. Legislation was proceeding quietly, the machinery of the new Government being admirably adapted for the despatch of business.

Sir John P. Grant has appointed Mr. Benjamin Reid, a black gentleman, who was formerly a slave on Chesterfield estate, to be a member of the road and municipal board of the district of Vere, in connection with Mr. McKinnon, the custos, and other gentlemen of the locality.

The Governor had been obliged to leave for Honduras on military service.

#### PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

##### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(*Thursday, February 14th.*)

##### THE JAMAICA COURT-MARTIAL

MAJOR JERVIS asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer a question with reference to the arrest of certain officers of Her Majesty's service in connection with a court-martial held in Jamaica.

MR. DISRAELI: I have no doubt whatever if any officer in Her Majesty's service, obeying the

commands of his superior officer, performs acts which are afterwards legally impugned, it would be the duty of the Government of course to defend him.

(*Monday, February 19th.*)

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT IN  
JAMAICA.

Mr. BAXTER asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any despatch relative to the reduction of the ecclesiastical establishment in Jamaica had been forwarded to the Governor of Jamaica, and, if so, whether he was willing to lay the same before Parliament; and whether he would lay before Parliament the circular relative to such reduction addressed to the clergy by the Bishop of Kingston.

Mr. ADDERLEY said there had only been one despatch, and that was simply to acknowledge the receipt of a correspondence between Sir John Brown and the Bishop of Kingston. When the views of those gentlemen were more matured the Colonial Office would take the subject into consideration. The circular had reference to certain parochial charges transferred to voluntary support, and therefore there was no correspondence in the Colonial Office which could be given to the House.

PERAMBULATING JAMAICA  
BISHOPS.

AMONGST the reforms undertaken by Sir J. P. Grant, is that of the church establishment of Jamaica. He has intimated, by a Circular to the clerks of the several districts, that in future the various parishes will not have to provide funds for ecclesiastical purposes. What will be done with the island bishops is not yet clear, but unquestionably they are proving their own inutility, and this fact, once accepted, it is to be hoped it will be acted upon, and the community be relieved of the injustice done it by taxing it to the extent of 40,000*l.* per annum, for the support of an establishment which is not in accordance with the sentiments of the majority, and whose chiefs are seldom or never where their presence is required.

We have often dwelt upon the taxation in Jamaica for ecclesiastical objects, as a grievance demanding a sharp remedy. The late G. W. Gordon was earnest in denouncing this abuse, and was vilified by those in authority for doing so. Now we find the new Governor laying the axe to the root of the tree, avowedly because he recognises the injustice of taxing the people for the support of a form of worship which does not command their sympathy.

We extract the following article from the *Jamaica Morning Journal*. We have seldom read a more forcible essay, and it shews how in different the heads of the Church establishment are to the requirements of their flocks. It is made quite clear to our comprehension, that as the bishops do

without Jamaica, the colony can do very well without them.

(From the *Jamaica Morning Journal*.)

This time twelve months ago the Bishop of Kingston was on the water, and now his reverence is again on the water. This is no doubt a very delectable way of overcoming the *ennui* of life in the colonies. To a bishop it must be particularly so, debarred as he is by his sacred office from the enjoyments which are shared by men who, *deo volente*, are not bishops. A year ago, having spent six months in the mother country, he was on his return to the colony; and having spent as much time in the colony as he thinks a colonial bishop ought to spend in his diocese, he is once more on his way to England. Not long ago the *Times* referred to it as a remarkable fact, that there are always more colonial bishops in England than there are bishops in the colonies. This statement holds good with regard to Jamaica especially. The Bishop of Jamaica, when in active discharge of the duties of his see, was hardly ever in the island, till at length he managed, through high influence in England, to enter into the nice arrangement of appointing a suffragan, while he enjoyed a sinecure at home. Jamaica, when most despised and reproached, became singularly marked out for ecclesiastical honour. The city of Kingston was elevated into a separate see, and Courtenay, Archdeacon of St. Catherine, at the will of Aubrey of Jamaica, if not altogether by the grace of God, became Reginald of Kingston.

We have ever been opposed to the creation of new offices, as they are at all times an assurance of increased taxation, without any guarantee of good to the country. The objection does not hold good with respect to bishops. They are a luxury that the mother country pays for; therefore, as they are ornamental, although we must confess not useful, the more of them, perhaps, the merrier. But we decidedly object to both the bishoprics, whether they be maintained out of imperial or colonial funds, becoming sinecures. There is little or nothing for either of the bishops to do; but if we must have Bishops of Jamaica, then at least they ought to be bishops in Jamaica. Our bishop in chief has a fixed residence abroad. When he requires change he goes from place to place, but he never comes to Jamaica. The Bishop of Kingston is a sort of peregrinating Lawn Sleeves. He is never settled, never at a given place for a given time, less in Jamaica where he may be wanted than elsewhere—in England, for instance, where he is not wanted, twice in twelve months. It has never been made clear to us what necessity there is for having a bishop in Jamaica, but the bishops themselves make it quite clear that they are not necessary. The Bishop of Jamaica resides permanently in England, and the Bishop of Kingston pays two visits to England in a year. Either there is no need of a bishop, or the bishops sadly neglect their duties.

Under the new form of government, the bishop is relieved of all church patronage, therefore his absence will perhaps be less felt, if, indeed, it is felt at all. But at this particular juncture the inutility of his office must be positive indeed if

his presence be not necessary. In consequence of the changes that have taken place in the political constitution, which involve at no distant day changes in the religious institution of the country, changes of which there has been the precursor in the discontinuance of government provision for church purposes, churchmen are most anxious in respect to the future of the sacred establishment. At such a time, it is natural to suppose that their greatest reliance should be placed on the bishop, whose position as the head of the church gives him an influence with the Governor which no other clergyman is likely to command. What is more, according to the instructions of the Queen in Council to the Colonial Executive, the bishop is constituted his adviser in all matters connected with the church. If the Bishop of Kingston was indifferent as to the advice that the Governor might require from him—if he was even doubtful of the utility of any advice that he could offer, and so have felt no bar to his leaving the country—at least he might have had some regard for the wishes and feelings of the clergy and members of the church, who are now left without a proper person to represent them before the Governor, and act as intermediary between them and the Government. All these facts have been made clear to his reverence, we, among the rest, having pointed out that this is a most inopportune time for him to go abroad. But his reverence would not forego his private business or pleasure for the good of the church; the time has come round for him to make his periodical trip to England, and neither the welfare of the church nor the cause of religion could induce him even to postpone his departure for a more convenient season. But we shall be very much mistaken if the right reverend gentleman's presence in England does not excite attention in quarters where he cannot either set authority at defiance, or beard public opinion.

To Her Majesty's ministers, who must naturally be anxious for settling the government of Jamaica, and seeing all her public institutions work with due efficiency, it will certainly appear strange that the head of so important an institution as the church should be absent. The Colonial Secretary, we expect, will either require from Bishop Courtenay a proper and satisfactory reason for his presence in England, or insist upon his returning to Jamaica immediately. We expect that either this will be done, or that the Bishop of Jamaica will be called upon forthwith to assume in person the duties of his high office. The British press, at least, will not fail to point out as significant of the little care bestowed upon the religious instruction of the people in this island, that both the bishop and his suffragan have quitted their posts, and are enjoying themselves in England.

#### APPEAL OF A COLOURED MAN.

THE Superintendent of the Freedmen's School, at York Town, Va., sends the following letter, under date of the 15th of December, 1866—

"I enclose for publication the substance of a speech made by Bayley Wyat, a coloured man,

living near here. It was delivered at a mass meeting of coloured freedmen held in our large school-house. The Meeting was called at the close of one held the preceding evening by the Freedmen's Bureau, on the subject of removing the camps. The former meeting was addressed by Gen. Armstrong, Lieut. Massey, and myself, advising them to seek homes in the adjoining counties and elsewhere; the latter meeting was held to consider of, and to reply to, our advice. I was present by special invitation, heard their deliberations, and felt that their arguments were unanswerable. I think I never heard more touching eloquence than that which characterized this simple speech. I was chained to the spot as I listened, and could not refrain mingling tears with the crowd, who were often melted into tears by the pathetic allusions of the speaker to their past and present experiences. I saw in this speech so much naked, simple truth, and natural pathos and oratory, that I sent to the speaker, and got him to come to my place and repeat to me the substance of his speech, while I wrote it down. It comes far short of doing justice to him, but there are facts and forces in it which should command the respect and sympathy of all, and especially of legislators."

#### BAYLEY WYAT'S SPEECH.

Taking notice of the address the gemmen gave us last night concerning leavin' the camps in which we are now settled, and thrown back to the adjinin' counties where we came from, it seems that it had been told the gemmen that if we would go back to the counties we came from, we should be taken care of as well as in the place where we are now located. But we have full satisfaction, if we turns back to them counties or lands we came from, under the present situation of the rebels and the unsettled situation of the United States, we shall be for ebber made hewers of wood and drawers of water.

But when we looks back and sees our former state, when education was kept from us; and though we was made like men by God as other men, we was kept in bondage—we made bricks without straw under old Pharo; and you all 'members de home house and de wife house, how de wife house was often eight or ten miles from de home house, and we would go there Saturday night expectin' to see de wife we had left, and she would be gone!—sent down South, neber to come back, and de little cabin shut up and desolate;—den we would fold our arms and cry, "O Lord, how long" and dat was all we could say. And we was not able to own even our names, as men among other men. For this cause we now looks on our present situation, and we believes it is by the overrulin' providence of God, and not of men, that we enjoys freedom—that we are placed in this most pleasant situation.

And we first thanks God for this great blessin' we now has; second, we thanks our friends from de North for the great sacrifice which dey have made for our beneficior; and we feels so well satisfied that we has God on our side—that we has some friends that, through God's assistance,

will intercede for us and assist us, yet wishes to be all the aid we can be to the United States as men.

And as to our dear friends, de Quakers to de North, we does consider dem our best earthly friends, for de great sacrifice dey has made, and is making, for us; we does tank dem most kindly; and as to de great North, for de sacrifices of treasures, of lives, and of blood, we now consider dem our affectionate friends, and we heartily tank dem.

We now as a people desires to be elevated, and we desires to do all we can to be educated, and we hope our friends will aid us all dey can.

As to our going back to the counties we came from and to the rebels again, we knows for the truth, by thousands of witnesses, the sight of the darkies who left the rebels in the time of war is now as a dose of pizen in their eyes, because we left the rebels and went to the Yankees.

We now feels unprotected against de rebels, and we feels unprotected wid dem; and though de rebels have and do scoff us for calling de North our friends, we hope we shall neber lose our confidence in dem—I mean our friends in de North.

Oh, most respectable friends ob de North, please consider our interests; we feels sometime as if our welfares in dis life depends on you.

Mr. Vining, de Superintendent of Schools, held a mass meeting on Friday night, and he departed to us some very good, per'ment instructions, such as we believes are based on the very foundations of truth: and immegiatly we agrees with him to take his counsel, believing it is for our benefit, and we has every reason to believe he is a friend of ours.

I may state to all our friends, and to all our enemies, that we has a right to the land where we are located. For why? I tell you. Our wives, our children, our husbands, has been sold over and over again to purchase the land we now locates upon; for that reason we have a divine right to the land.

Den again, the United States, by deir officers, told us if we would leave the Rebels and come to de Yankees, and help de Government, we should have de land where dey put us as long as we live; and dey told us dat we should be se'd after and cured for by de Government, and placed in a position to become men among men.

And de Government furder promised to protect us from de rebels as long as we lived, and we sacrificed all we had, and left de rebels and came to de Yankees.

Some of us had some money to buy our freedom, and some of us had a house, and some of us had cattle, with which we hoped sometime to buy ourselves; but we left all, depending on de promises of de Yankees.

Dey told us dese lands was 'fiscated from the Rebels who was fightin' de United States to keep us in Slavery and to destroy the Government. De Yankee officers say to us: "Now, dear friends, coloured men, come and go with us; we will gain de victory, and by de proclamation of our President you have your freedom, and you shall have the 'fiscated lands."

And now we feels disappointed dat dey has not kept deir promise. O educated men! men of

principle, men of honour, as we once considered you was! Now we don't seem to know what to consider, for de great confidence we had seems to be shaken, for now we has orders to leaves dese lands by de Superintendent of de Bureau.

We was first ordered to pay rent, and we paid de rent; now we has orders to leave, or have our log cabins torn down over our heads. Dey say, "De lands has been 'stored to de old owners, and dey must have it."

And now where shall we go? Shall we go into de streets, or into de woods, or into de ribber? We has nowhere to go! and we wants to know what we can do.

I is not here to ask de Government to help me nor my family. I has never asked any help from de Government nor from friends, and I never has received any. I has got a living by honest hard work since I came to the Yankees, and I has saved something besides. I owes no man any thing, but my people cannot all do this. Dey has been bought and sold like horses; dey has been kept in ignorance; dey has been sold for lands, for horses, for carriages, and for every thing their old masters had. I want some gemmen to tell me of one ting that our people hasn't been sold to buy for deir owners.

And den did'nt we clear de land, and raise de crops of corn, ob cotton, ob tobacco, ob rice, ob sugar, ob ebery ting? And den didu't dem large cities in de North grow up on de cotton, and de sugars, and de rice dat we made? Yes! I appeal to de South and to de North if I hasn't spoken de words of truth.

I say dey has grown rich, and my people is poor. We lives in slab cabins, on ground for poor, and many of us has not food, and we goes ragged and most naked.

God heard our groans, He saw our afflictions, and He came down and delivered us; but anudder king is now risen—Andy Johnson! I will not call him king or president; he is not our friend; he has forgotten the afflictions of Joseph, if he ever knowed them, and we are now turned back to the old taskmasters. Our cabins are threatened to be torn down over our heads if we do not go, and we must be drove about from place to place, and chased as hounds chase rabbits. And we must go; and I ask again, where shall we go. and who shall we trust?

I tell you who we is to trust. We is to trust in God, and He will bring us all out ob de wilderness, somehow, and sometime, and somewhere. I cannot tell how nor when He'll do it, but I'm bound to believe He will do it. Gemmen, we must not depend on the warlike nations around us to help us; dey have all deceived us; dey has combined against us to keep us out of de promised land.

Now, we must be united; we must take care of ourselves, and protect ourselves, and must support ourselves. We must form societies to help each other who cannot help demselves, and we must shew to de nations dat we can support ourselves, and dat we can protect ourselves, wid the help of God; and dat He will do. He has done it, and I know He will help us one time more, if we looks to Him.

I know de times looks hard and berry dark to some of us, who is hungry and cold: like all de

chillen of Israel, our soul is dried away, and we 'members de flesh-pots, and de leeks, and de onions of Egypt, and we is ready to say, "Oh, dat our graves had been dere!" for we tinks dat our Moses has left us, and we has lost our confidence in him. But I stands here to-night to tell you dat God has not forgotten us, and He is just, and He will bring us along bime-by.

We deserves hard times, we deserves hunger and cold, and we deserves enemies, because we is not all honest, and we doesn't do de best we can. We doesn't help ourselves; and I tell you dat God won't help those that won't help themselves. You know when Joshua went to fight Ai, he was beat, and his men got killed, and was driven back, and poor Joshua didn't know what was de matter; but God did know dat something was wrong with Joshua's men. Some of dem did steal a coat, and some did steal money, and God knew it, and He telled Joshua, and den Joshua find it so; and he punish and kill de tief and de liar, and den his enemies could not stand against him. Now we has liars, and we has tieves, and knows it; and we all suffer as a people, as dere is sin wid us. God ain't gwine to help de wicked, and bless dem. No, Sir! God ain't gwine to do any sich thing. He is gwine to 'flict us some way, long as we is wicked; long as we don't speak de truth; long as we steal; long as we doesn't believe Him; long as we is lazy; long as we don't help ourselves, He won't help us.

#### THE COLOURED MEN TO CONGRESS.

ON the 10th, 11th and 12th of January last there was held at Washington a Convention of coloured men, calling themselves the *National Equal Rights League*. It comprised representatives from all sections of the Union—from New England, the Middle States, the District of Columbia, nine of the Southern, and several of the Western States, including Kansas and California, and was presided over with signal ability by John Mercer Langston, of Oberlin, Ohio, a very eloquent and able lawyer, who was, during the Convention, admitted, on the motion of Hon. J. A. Garfield, to practice in the United-States' Supreme Court.

The Convention adopted certain resolutions and an address to Congress, which were presented to the Senate by Mr. Sumner, prefaced by an eloquent speech, an address to the coloured people of the United States, advising them to ceaseless efforts to educate themselves and their children, to cultivate religious character, industry and frugality, and to accumulate wealth in land, especially in the South and in our Western States; the formation of a popular National Equal Rights League, with a Bureau at Washington, and with auxiliaries in every section of the Union—an organization that may in the future become the scale by which half a million of votes can be gauged; and, lastly, the usual number

of resolutions and declarations of a miscellaneous character.

This most important gathering attracted great attention; and as its proceedings are likely to become historical, we append the text of the address and of the resolutions above referred to. They are the composition of the President of the Convention, and must be admitted to be couched in phraseology worthy of the occasion.

#### ADDRESS TO CONGRESS.

. . . Wherever your jurisdiction extends, and especially throughout all the territories lately in rebellion, where States are in due time to be reconstructed, and the whole subject of the rights and franchises of citizenship is to be adjusted, there we ask you to secure to our people impartial suffrage and all the rights and privileges of American citizens—equality before the laws of our country.

Need we remind you that, amid the darkest hours of the late war we came promptly at your call, rallying round the flag of our imperilled Union; and that many of our sons and brothers bravely met death in that fearful struggle to save our common country. You will remember how you then exhorted and encouraged us to take up arms and to bear our part manfully in this struggle for a free and righteous government, giving us to understand that a just and generous people would surely award to us our share of the fruits of victory—freedom, manhood, all the rights and privileges of citizenship.

That conflict is now past, and the records of your history testify that we fought and suffered nobly, and that on our part we have fulfilled faithfully those conditions. Let us now rely upon the honour and the justice of a great people, acting through its national government, to bestow upon us, without stint, those promised civil and political rights and privileges.

Permit us further to remind you, that the loyal whites throughout the portion of our country lately in rebellion unite, with one voice, to implore you to make the elective franchise impartial, irrespective of race or colour, believing it to be essential to their own safety as well as to ours, and altogether vital to the effective reconstruction of civil government and the ascendancy of loyal citizens in its administration. Results so fundamental to the peace and permanence of the Federal Union will certainly be appreciated by your honourable body and by all the loyal people of the nation. You have proved our loyalty. Would it not then be wise to put our whole numerical force in the scale of loyalty against treason, of peace and good order against rebellion and national ruin?

Moreover, you will allow us to remind you that, ever since you have been a nation among the nations of the earth, that class of your fellow-citizens whom we represent has never shrunk from the burdens of taxation, and has never failed to respond to the call to arms for the defence of our common country. When you fought for national independence, coloured soldiers were by your side; coloured regiments

swelled your brigades, and shared with you the sufferings, the hardships, and the conflicts unto blood by which you became an independent nation.

In the British war of 1812 coloured regiments fought and bled. You will remember the glowing testimony which their heroism drew from the lips and the pen of Andrew Jackson after the great and decisive battle of New Orleans.

Is it not well that the fit reward for such services should be conferred upon our race at last, and all the more so for having been so long delayed?

It may not be amiss to remind you, moreover, that in the days of our revolutionary fathers, and thenceforward for more than one generation, free coloured people were allowed the elective franchise, and lay under no political disabilities on account of race or colour.

In the articles of confederation of 1778, the word "white," with its discriminations against persons of African descent, was firmly rejected. Of eleven States voting, eight were against it, only two for it, while the vote of the eleventh was divided.

The celebrated Ordinance of 1787 afforded another opportunity for the fathers of our country to bear their testimony for impartial political rights, irrespective of colour. That document, in defining the qualifications of electors and of representatives, discarded the word "white," and recognised men as having equal rights and privileges without regard to colour or race.

So, also, the Federal Constitution, adopted in the same year, made no discrimination in respect to the rights and privileges of American citizens on the score of race or colour. All were allowed to vote for members in the House of Representatives who had the qualifications of electors in the most numerous branch of their respective State Legislatures. In eleven out of thirteen States, free coloured citizens at that time enjoyed the elective franchise.

From that time onward to 1820 ten Territories had risen to the rank of States; yet in no one of them had Congress recognised any discrimination on the score of colour or race. In Missouri, first during that year, and then under the growing assumptions and demands of the Slave-power, Congress yielded, and first began to abjure the free and righteous principles of the immortal declaration of 1776. In admitting Missouri they tolerated discriminations on the score of colour. This, you will note, was not of the fathers of the Revolution. They had chiefly gone to their graves, bearing no such stigma of injustice toward an oppressed race. Those great men, who had founded their claim to become a self-governing nation upon the doctrine of inalienable rights, conferred upon them by their Creator in their very manhood, could not ignore the claim of their fellow-citizens who might be tinged with African blood. They attempted no such thing. It was not in their noble hearts to do it. With admirable consistency, such as the world delights to honour, they accorded to their free coloured fellow-citizens the same inalienable rights, given of God, which they claimed for themselves. The existence of Slavery in some of the States was, in their view, a sad anomaly—

an outrage on those natural rights of man which they had so nobly asserted before the world. They endured it for the time as a fact to be deplored, yet one which perhaps lay outside of their national responsibilities, and, moreover, as one which the principles of freedom and equal rights, then asserting their legitimate sway upon the public heart and conscience, must, in their view, soon undermine and destroy. The sequel shewed that they had not estimated the strength which American Slavery would draw from the lust of gain and the lust of irresponsible power. Hence they did not at once accord these equal rights to the enslaved, partly because, in their view, it was not clear that they had legitimately the power to do so, and partly because they were sanguine that the recently-developed ideas of human rights would surely pervade the public mind, and shortly put an end to Slavery by their legitimate moral force. That they recognised these rights as inhering by nature in the freedmen of their time, is due to their principles, to their moral courage, and to their consequent self-consistency.

It should excite no surprise that the Slave-power has sought to bespatter, mystify, and traduce the immortal principles of the Declaration of Independence. The glory of those principles lies in their "generality"—in their impartial application to all men by virtue of their manhood. The assumption which they meant to oppose was, that God had made man in *classes*—one dominant, another subject, a class of lords, and another of serviles. They had a point to carry in their appeal to the fundamental truths of that declaration, and beyond a question, like sensible men, they held those truths in such a form as to meet their point. They meant to deny that the aristocrats of England were born to rule, and the plebeians of America, equally intelligent and virtuous, were born to be ruled. They meant to deny that one class could rightly tax another, and make them pay for being governed, without their own consent or participation. These points were undeniably before their minds, and they held what have been sneeringly called the "glittering generalities" of the Declaration of Independence in the practical form which precisely met and established them.

The burden of our request to-day is, that you apply those same immortal principles, in essentially the same way, to your coloured fellow-citizens. Place us on the ground of our common manhood. Concede that we are men, born with those inalienable rights.

We urge this request with the more confidence because we are sure you will admit that, as a class, we have proved ourselves thoroughly loyal to the Union, and ready to make promptly all the sacrifices which our country ever calls on her citizens to make for her welfare and defence. If, as a class, we are not enlightened, you cannot but see that this is far more our misfortune than our fault, for we come to you with the amplest evidence, that, in so far as we have had the means of education since freedom came, no people on earth have improved it more eagerly, or made progress more rapidly. Would it not now be both wise and noble on your part to place before

our people the appropriate stimulus to self-education and culture, giving us the elective franchise on judicious and impartial terms, and inspiring us to self-improvement under a sense of these new responsibilities?

We invite you to consider that the wise and good of every nation applaud you for making America the asylum for the overborne and oppressed of other lands. So much more will they honour you if you make your country an asylum and a home for those whom American Slavery has far more cruelly oppressed. To the former you give soon enough all the franchises of a free democratic government. Why should you not give the same franchises, with equal readiness and on equal terms, to your fellow-citizens of African descent?

Permit us to say to you that we have long since accepted the obvious ordinations of Divine Providence as to our location, and therefore account this country as our own—our real *home*. Most of us have been here for many successive generations. The bones of our fathers and of our fathers' fathers lie here. Our sweat has moistened this soil; our hands have felled your Southern forests, and made the wealth of your cotton, rice, and sugar plantations. Our physical constitutions have attempered themselves to your climate. We purpose, therefore, to remain here, and cast ourselves upon your generosity and justice, awaiting from your hand the recognition of those rights and privileges of which the first instalments have already come in the form of personal freedom and acknowledged civil rights; and the balance of which you will certainly see should in wisdom, as to yourselves and in justice as to us, be granted us without longer delay.

You will not deem it unreasonable that, in respect to all the franchises of citizenship, we ask you to place us not lower than the strangers who come among you from the poverty and perhaps the servitude of Europe. Surely you will not discriminate against us because our oppressions have been longer protracted and more cruel than theirs. You will not take advantage of the nation's wrong inflicted upon us, and make it the apology for inflicting yet more and other wrongs. You will not discriminate against us because the system of Slavery created a necessity for a cruel prejudice against our race, and demanded that we should be thrust down to the lowest point in society possible to human beings. To make one wrong the reason and vindication for another can never seem to you noble or even just. Before the eyes of mankind and in the face of high heaven, you cannot suffer your record to go down to history as that of a nation ignoring its noblest principles of equality, justice, and right, in the very case when those principles most loudly demand a bold, consistent, and truly noble application. You will not single out for special disabilities to be discriminated against in the matter of political rights and privileges the very class most wronged heretofore, and mainly because they have been so grievously wronged during the whole course of your national life. Especially you will not do this when it is obvious that the first step in this direction imperils the safety of loyal white men,

the peace of our common country, and the perpetuity of our Union. You will not do it in the face of the record which our people have wrought out for themselves during the war of the rebellion to their loyalty, their patriotism, and their trustworthiness, as well with the ballot as the bullet. You will not do it in the near presence of those agencies of Divine Providence which brought us into your armies, which gave us freedom, and which witness so cogently to the retributions of justice for the wrongs of American Slavery. You will not do it under the eye of the Great Father, who holds nations in every age to a solemn responsibility to deal justly and humanely toward the defenceless, as they hope for peace and prosperity at his hand.

We ask a reconstruction, therefore, gentlemen, which, founded on impartial justice, brings safety and peace to the loyal white American, happiness and prosperity to one common country, while it is the shield and buckler, the strong defence of the American freedmen. Our plea is before you.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

**Resolved.**—That the right to vote is an essential and separate part of self-government, and therefore natural and inalienable; and that, while Government may regulate its exercise, it has no more right to deprive a citizen of its use than it has to deprive him of his right to an impartial trial by a jury of his legal peers.

**Resolved.**—That the feature which distinguishes the American Government, more than any other, is its ample and positive recognition of the doctrine of self-government: it is, therefore, in the name of this doctrine that we, an integral portion of the American population, make our claim to equality before the law, believing that all laws and parts of laws which discriminate against us, by reason of our race or colour, are unconstitutional and void.

**Resolved.**—That "taxation without representation is tyranny;" especially is this true in a Government whose foundation principle is the equality of its people; and especially, also, is this true when those are compelled to pay taxes and yet denied representation who have proved their loyalty and devotion to the Government by heroic and manly deeds in hotly-contested but victorious battles. This is indeed tyranny intensified, and not unmixed with dastardly meanness and cold-hearted ingratitude. We claim, therefore,

**First.** The right to wield the ballot, because we are American citizens, and as such entitled to it.

**Secondly.** Because we are tax-payers, and as such justly entitled to full representation in the State and Federal Governments.

**Thirdly.** Because we are patriots, and as such have proved our loyalty to the country by our self-sacrificing behaviour in the hour of her sorest trial.

**Fourthly.** Because it is a natural and inherent right, pertaining to every native-born American citizen, whether white or black, who has reached his majority.

**Resolved.** That we believe in the constitutional doctrine, that "in all prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy and [public trial

by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed," and "in suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved;" hence we claim for the coloured American throughout the country a fair and impartial jury trial by his legal equals, and this is only attainable by his complete enfranchisement.

Resolved, That we believe in the sentiment of the constitution, that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States;" and that this doctrine may be made practical in our case, we ask the establishment of a national standard of qualifications of electors which shall be uniform and universal.

Resolved, That we approve of no reconstruction of the seceded States which is not founded in equal justice and impartial suffrage; we are opposed, therefore, to the Constitutional Amendment now pending for adoption by the several States as the basis of reconstruction—for in so far forth as it permits our disfranchisement, it is undemocratic, illegitimate, and unjust.

Resolved, That we are opposed to the admission of Nebraska or any other Territory to the position of a State in the Federal Union upon a constitution which, by the use of the word "white," discriminates against persons of African descent; for this is not a "white man's government," any more than it is a black man's government; nor was it ordained to establish the policy implied in such phraseology; but it is the government of the American people, and was adopted by them to secure to all the inhabitants of our common country and their posterity the blessings of equal freedom and justice.

Resolved, That we tender our hearty thanks to our tried and true friends in Congress for the untiring and uncompromising efforts which they have made to carry out the principles embodied in the above resolutions in the congressional enactments pertaining to the freedmen, and especially do we thank them for the enactment which, in the removal of certain illegal and unconstitutional obstructions, enfranchises our coloured fellow-citizens in the district of Columbia.

Resolved, That we hereby express our gratitude to the American Missionary Association and kindred organizations for the philanthropic and disinterested efforts which they are carrying forward, at great expense, both of labour and means, for the education and elevation of the freedmen of the country.

Resolved, That this is our home, doubly dear to us by reason of our past labours given to secure the development of its resources and prosperity, as well as the sacrifices made by us by land and sea in the army and navy in those struggles through which she wrought out her independence and established her position among the nations of the earth: here we intend to remain, hoping under God to be able to commend ourselves to the judgment and conscience of all our fellow-countrymen by the cultivation among us of all those things which pertain to a well-ordered and dignified life.

## MEMORIAL OF THE LATE JOSEPH STURGE.

(From the "Birmingham Daily Post,"  
Jan. 29, 1867.)

SOME time ago the Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society collected, principally in small sums, about 150*l.*, and presented it to Mrs. H. J. Sturge, as a tribute of respect to her late husband. Mrs. Sturge, knowing the great need that exists in Jamaica for clocks and bells, appropriated the money chiefly in the provision of these useful articles. Of the amount, two grants were made to the Jamaica Education Fund; 10*l.* appropriated to the roofing of a chapel at Sturge Town; two clocks, greatly prized, were taken by the Rev. Joseph Ketley, on his return to Demerara; two chapels have been furnished with lamps, thus admitting of a service in the evening; three clocks and eight bells to different localities in Jamaica, and one clock for Montserrat. A balance of 5*l.* remains to be forwarded to a Moravian Missionary in Antigua. Writing home, the Rev. John Clark, of Brown's Town, says:

"The bell has come. It is a noble one, and will send its voice across the valleys, and to the distant hills around Sturge Town. I hope to get it mounted, and begin its work by calling together the people to a Missionary meeting. The people who have seen it are delighted with it. The clock, I trust, will teach the people at Bethany a lesson which they greatly need—to be punctual."

The Rev. W. Teall says:

"An old negress, nearly a hundred years old, saw the bell on the ground before it was put up, and, touching it with her stick, said, 'Dat Massa Jesus' shell. Before time, Buckra blow shell, we all turn out with driver to the field for work; but when Massa Jesus blow that shell 't is to tell us to turn out to his house for glory.'"

Another correspondent, in acknowledging the present of a clock, thus speaks of the general state of the island:

"On the 12th of December 1829 I first landed at Kingston, and have seen Jamaica in its different phases of Slavery, insurrection, general persecution, apprenticeship, freedom, immigration mania, despondency, poverty, thirst, slaughter, destruction of the time-worn constitution, and now a calm, quiet government, with the pride and self-seeking of Council and Assembly men swept away, and all sects coming before a master mind, without prejudice or party feeling, who rules like a despot, but whose despotism is wise and good, and who, we hope, will long so rule, and bring a healthful prosperity to Jamaica, which the land has never before enjoyed."

## The Anti-Slabery Reporter.

FRIDAY, MARCH 1, 1867.

### NOTICE TO FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR subscribers are respectfully informed that their Annual Contributions to the funds of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* fell due on the 1st of January. All subscribers to the amount of Ten Shillings annually are entitled to receive, post-free, a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and of any tract or pamphlet issued by the Society. To non-subscribers, the *Reporter* is sent on payment of Four Shillings in advance, commencing on the 1st of January. Payments should be made to the Secretary, L. A. Chameroyzow, either in stamps or by Post-office Order, made payable at the Post-office, New Broad Street, E.C., London.

### THE JAMAICA MASSACRE.

#### COMMITTAL OF GENERAL NELSON AND LIEUTENANT BRAND FOR TRIAL.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL NELSON and Lieutenant Brand, late of the royal navy, have been committed to take their trial at the forthcoming Old-Bailey Sessions, on the charge of wilfully murdering George William Gordon.

On the 6th ult., Mr. Fitzjames Stephen and Mr. J. Horne Payne, instructed by Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe, solicitors for the Jamaica Committee, applied to Sir Thomas Henry, the chief magistrate, at Bow Street, for warrants to apprehend Colonel Nelson, late Brigadier-General in Jamaica, and Lieutenant Hubert Brand, on the charge of wilful murder. The ostensible prosecutors were stated to be Mr. John Stuart Mill, M.P., and Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., the one the Chairman, the other the Treasurer of the Jamaica Committee.

We propose to give merely an outline of the proceedings, as our columns would not furnish space adequate to a full report. Moreover we believe it is the intention of the Jamaica Committee to issue a complete record of them, in pamphlet form, and to place it, within the briefest delay, in possession of the public.

Mr. Fitzjames Stephen having set forth the law of the case, Dr. Alexander Fiddes, late medical adviser to the late G. W. Gordon, Mr. Andrew Henry Lewis, Mr. Roundell, late Secretary to the Royal Commission, the Messrs. Beaumont, father and son, reporters, and Mr. W. N. West,

clerk to Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe, having been examined, Sir Thomas Henry granted an adjournment in order to produce a witness who had seen the accused within his jurisdiction.

Next day, the 7th, a summons was granted to command the attendance of the porter at the United-Service Club, to give evidence of the presence in London of Colonel Nelson, which was granted, as was a warrant against Lieutenant Brand, upon the evidence of William Desborough, who deposed that he had seen the accused in Regent Street within the last few days. In the course of an hour the porter of the Senior United-Service Club, having given evidence of a similar kind against Colonel Nelson, a warrant for his apprehension was also granted.

On the 8th, Lieutenant Brand was brought up in custody of Taylor, one of the warrant-officers of the court, Mr. Shaen appearing for the prosecution. Sir Thomas Henry explained to the prisoner that he was "charged with having, as the President of the court-martial held at Morant Bay, in the island of Jamaica, on the 23rd October 1865, signed a sentence for the execution of George William Gordon, which sentence was, it is alleged, without legal authority, and therefore his execution was not justified." The depositions of Dr. Fiddes and Mr. Lewis were then read over, and the prisoner was ultimately held to bail, himself in his own recognisance of 500*l.*, and two sureties of 200*l.* each, to appear on the following Tuesday. These sureties came forward in the course of the afternoon, until which time the prisoner was confined in one of the cells.

On the 12th, Colonel Nelson, having surrendered to the warrant, and Lieutenant Brand were placed in the dock, where they elected to remain, notwithstanding an offer of accommodation at the attorneys' table. Mr. Bristowe appeared for Lieutenant Brand, on behalf of the Admiralty, and Mr. Claude Scott, of the War Department, for Colonel Nelson. Mr. Rose, who said he was solicitor for Mr. Eyre, said he had given that gentleman's address to the solicitors for the prosecution, a fact which Sir Thomas Henry did not conceive of any importance, Mr. Eyre's name not being before the court.

Mr. Fitzjames Stephen set forth the case for the prosecution, and Dr. Fiddes and Mr. Lewis were both recalled. They repeated their former evidence, which was substantiated by that of Mr. Augustus Lake, of Kingston, reporter for the *Colonial Standard* at the time of the execution of Gordon. Mr. Roundell then put in the whole of the documents relating to the court-martial, and the further hearing of

the case was adjourned, the prisoners being liberated on bail.

On the 19th the accused again surrendered to their bail, Mr. Poland, in the absence of Mr. Hannen, instructed by the solicitor to the War-Office, appearing for Colonel Nelson. On this occasion the defendants occupied seats at the attorneys' table. The witnesses were Mr. Lewis and Mr. Lake, recalled, and Mr. George Phillippe, who was examined at considerable length on the subject of the laws of Jamaica. The case was further adjourned until the following Saturday.

On Saturday, the 23rd ult., the accused again surrendered to their bail, when Mr. Hannen, as well as Mr. Poland, on behalf of the War-Office, appeared for Colonel Nelson. On this occasion, also, the prisoners sat at the attorneys' table. The witnesses examined were Mr. Phillippe, recalled, and the Messrs. Barnett, father and son, reporters, their notes of the proceedings before the Royal Commission in Jamaica being put in.

The whole of the witnesses having been heard, Mr. Hannen proceeded to defend Colonel Nelson, arguing that no case had been made out either against him or Lieutenant Brand; that they had committed no offence whatever, but done not only what was justifiable, but what it was their duty to do according to law. He stigmatized the whole proceedings as a solemn farce, for if the accused were committed for trial, they must be acquitted. Martial law having been proclaimed in parts of Jamaica, in consequence of the disturbed state of the island, amounting to a state of war, the ordinary course of justice became entirely suspended, and the will of the commanding-officer was substituted for it. The court-martial that tried Gordon was properly constituted, and the members of it had nothing to do with the illegal manner—if illegality there had been—in which Gordon had been placed within its jurisdiction. The prisoner had had a fair and a patient trial, and if Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand were *bond fide* satisfied that the evidence against him did justify their verdict, they could not be held guilty of the crime alleged against them. Even had they overstepped the exact limit of moderation, allowance ought to be made for officers in their position. But he maintained, further, that the Act of Indemnity sufficed to exonerate them from all legal penalties.

Mr. Bristowe, on behalf of Lieutenant Brand, contended that he had acted under superior orders, and was therefore not responsible. Had he not tried Gordon he laid himself open to being shot for disobeying orders. He quite agreed with his

learned friend who had just sat down, that no case had been made out against the accused.

Mr. Stephen, in reply, argued that no man was compelled to obey an illegal order, wherefore Lieutenant Brand could not incur the risk of being shot for disobedience had he refused to try Gordon. But even then he need not have condemned him to death; he might have recommended him to mercy, or, as Colonel Nelson had himself admitted that no military necessity existed for the execution, they might have re-committed him to prison for safe keeping, and for a further trial before the civil courts. As to martial law superseding civil law, and enabling the military to do what they pleased, if under such circumstances the common principles of justice were not to be regarded by them, it was high time to teach them what those principles were, and for that object the present prosecution had been instituted. In Gordon's case, he had been hanged upon admittedly insufficient evidence, and the parties now charged with his murder, if not actuated by private grudge or petty personal spite, had none the less committed an act highly blameable, morally considered, and culpably blameable according to law. Much had been said in support of the theory that there was a dangerous rebellion, but the facts went to disprove that theory, rendering more questionable the existence of the necessity of declaring martial law at all. It was said there was no malice, but a man was not to be hanged off-hand for political purposes, for mere example, without proof of guilt. The learned counsel then argued that the Indemnity Act could not possibly be construed to cover an unlawful act, for such a doctrine would infallibly give rise to the most flagrant abuses of authority, and imperil every man's life and liberty. He also answered the legal arguments urged on the other side, relative to the Jamaica Acts, and the complicated questions suggested by the various definitions of martial law; and concluded by asking the magistrate to send the case before a tribunal competent to deal with an inquiry of such magnitude and importance to every British subject.

Sir Thomas Henry, in reply, said, the arguments on both sides proved that the case presented many doubtful questions of law and fact, and as it was not the province of a magistrate to determine such questions, he would put them in train for further investigation, without expressing any opinion of his own, by holding the prisoners to bail, to appear at the Sessions on the 8th of April next.

The witnesses having been bound over the defendants were liberated on bail.

## IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

THE following are the articles of impeachment of President Johnson, which have been exhibited in the form of a Petition in extensive circulation in the United States, especially the western parts. Our English pro-slavery journals, such as the *Times*, have stated that the chief of the American Republic is being impeached because he has maintained his own opinion in opposition to the resolutions of Congress. It requires scarcely more than a cursory examination of these articles to shew that the said papers have, in accordance with their usual policy, and with a view to mislead, given fanciful reasons for an act of which it pleases them to disapprove. It is said that the Petitions are receiving a large number of signatures.

### PETITION.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, THE GRAND INQUEST OF THE NATION.

Your memorialists, inhabitants of the United States, respectfully represent to your honourable body that Andrew Johnson, Vice-President of the United States, upon whom has "devolved the power and duties of President" by the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, in their belief, in derogation of his high office and the dignity thereof, and in violation of the constitution and laws of the United States, has been guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanours" dangerous to the liberties of the people, in usurpation of rights, and abuse of the powers so devolved upon him. In these particulars, among many others, the evidence of the facts of which are open and notorious:

1. Laying aside the dignity of his office, in divers public declarations, speeches, and harangues, for the purpose of inciting the hatred, ridicule, and contempt of the people for the Congress of the United States, he has declared the legal and constitutional Congress of the United States to be an "unconstitutional body," without power or right, "pretending to be a Congress;" "a body hanging upon the verge of the Government;" a rump "of a Congress;" "a body of disunionists;" "a tyrannical, domineering, unconstitutional Congress;" its legally constituted Committee "a central directory," and some of its loyal and patriotic members traitors and disunionists, and deserving punishment by hanging.

2. That in violation of his high office, and the dignity thereof, and in neglect of his duties, absenting himself from the Capitol, he busied himself for many days in making inflammatory harangues and declarations against the power of the Congress, and against the laws passed by it, thereby endeavouring to incite the people of the United States to disobey such laws, and to resist their execution.

3. That he has unconstitutionally, illegally, and indiscriminately made use of the power vested in the executive of "pardonning offences against the United States," for corrupt and wicked purposes, and has released from the penalties of their

crimes many notorious criminals guilty of treason, murder, robbery, counterfeiting the currency of the United States, and these, both before and after trial, without due investigation of their offences, and in order to prevent fines, forfeitures, and confiscations, legally and properly due and belonging to the United States, from coming into the treasury thereof.

4. That in derogation of the constitutional power of Congress "to make rules concerning captures on land and water," he has usurped the legislative power of Congress by returning to and putting in possession of rebels and traitors to the Government large amounts of property, amounting in value to many millions of dollars, the title to which by capture in war and otherwise had become vested in the United States, and ought to have gone into the treasury thereof.

5. That, without warrant of law, and against constitutional right, he has appointed certain persons as provisional governors over portions of a part of the territory of the United States disorganized by civil war and rebellion, in which he himself admitted "all civil government was overthrown," and ordered and permitted the salaries and emoluments of these illegal appointees to be paid from the treasury of the United States.

6. That he has caused to be appointed and inducted into office under the Government many rebels against the United States, both pardoned and unpardoned, who were then known to him to be unable to take the oath prescribed by law that they had not been guilty of rebellion and treason against the United States, and has caused the salaries and emoluments of such officers to be paid from the treasury of the United States without warrant of law.

7. He has usurped the legislative powers constitutionally devolved on Congress in prescribing, by Executive order, the terms and conditions upon which former citizens of the United States, who, by levying war and other crimes against the United States, had forfeited all their rights and lost all power, both as individuals and as organized communities, to participate in the government of the United States, and to be represented in the Congress thereof, might be organized into States of the Union, to frame constitutions, and do other legislative acts, and finally become again clothed with the powers and rights of citizens of the United States, and be entitled to be represented in the Senate and House of Representatives.

8. A public territorial war having been declared by the Congress of the United States, with the assent of the President thereof, to exist between the United States and the armed forces of certain insurrectionary States, in derogation and usurpation of the constitutional right of the Senate "to advise and consent to any treaty of peace" and its concurrence therein, and in usurpation of the power of Congress to "provide for the general welfare of the United States," he has by his sole proclamation declared such war to be ended, and peace to be restored, in order to relieve such insurgents from the disabilities and obligations consequent upon a state of war.

9. While declaring the legal and constitutional existence and right of the State of Louis-

iana as a State in the Union, he has interfered in its domestic concerns, and ordered the armed forces of the United States to protect it from insurrection without the application of the executive or of the Legislature thereof.

10. Conspiring with certain evil-disposed persons, lately rebels in arms against the United States, the chief of whom, one John Thumroe, he had pardoned so that he might hold office in Louisiana, Andrew Johnson has aided and abetted them in the murder of loyal and well-disposed citizens of the United States in the City of New Orleans, and to cover up and hide from the people of the United States his complicity in this great crime, he has garbled and caused to be published the despatches of the general commanding there, describing and setting forth the facts and circumstances of the massacre of such citizens, and afterwards as falsely, wickedly, and corruptly, in public harangues, charged this violence and murder which he had incited upon the Congress of the United States.

11. That corruptly and wickedly, for the purpose of interfering with the freedom of election, he has abused the power of appointment and removed from office, by making the sole qualification for holding office the opposition of the incumbent or appointee to the constitutional laws, acts, and power of the Congress of the United States.

12. He has usurped from the Senate of the United States the constitutional right of advising and consenting to the appointment of "officers of the United States not provided for in the Constitution," by nominating to that body many persons for office, and after the Senate had refused to advise and consent to their appointment he has put them in office, and clothed them with official powers and duties, and caused them to be paid their salaries without right and without law, and has shewn his corrupt and wicked intentions and designs in so doing by appointing to office, and actually putting in office, many such men who had been more than once rejected by the Senate when nominated by him for the same official positions.

13. Being sworn to take care that "the laws shall be faithfully executed," in violation of his oath of office, he has wilfully and wickedly neglected and refused to execute laws duly and legally enacted by Congress, which were distasteful to him.

Your memorialists further represent that Andrew Johnson is reported by common fame, which has been held sufficient ground for inquiry for impeachment, to be guilty of other high crimes and misdemeanours, shewing personal unfitness for the "powers and duties of the office of President of the United States," in selling pardons of criminals, and in appearing in public and in the performance of the duties of his office in a state of drunkenness by the voluntary use of intoxicating liquors.

Your memorialists therefore respectfully pray that these several acts, doings, omissions of duty, usurpations of power, and all other of his malfeasances in office may be inquired into by the grand inquest of the nation, and that a Bill of Impeachment for the same (if they shall be proven) may be presented to the Senate of the

United States, sitting as a High Court of Impeachment, and that upon such impeachment he may be removed from office, and upon conviction thereof be for ever disqualified from holding and enjoying "any office of honour, trust, or profit under the United States," and be left "subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law."

And as in duty bound your memorialists will ever pray.

#### MR. THOMAS HARVEY ON JAMAICA.

In accordance with the wishes of many friends, we have much pleasure in recording the admirable address delivered by Mr. Thomas Harvey, on the occasion of the breakfast offered to him at Leeds, on the 9th of January ultimo. The report is taken from the *Leeds Mercury* of the 10th.

Mr. HARVEY, who was warmly received, said, that whilst he felt deeply grateful for the kind expressions of the chairman, he found himself placed in a position which he had never expected would fall to him. He was sure, however, that he did no more than justice to the gentlemen who had called that meeting, if he said that the more important object that had called them together, was to receive information and to exchange sentiments that might tend to increase their interest in the question of Jamaica in particular, and of our colonial possessions in general. There were few objects more near to himself than that. He believed that a great responsibility rested upon the English people generally, and especially upon that part of the population which, to a small extent, was represented in that room, in regard to the Government of our colonies; and perhaps, of all our colonies, those had the strongest claim upon public attention in which, for nearly two centuries, the labouring population were kept in a state of Slavery by the will and power of Great Britain. Though that state of things had happily ceased, the wrong which had been done to them by ourselves and our ancestors gave them a large and peculiar claim upon our interest, our attention, and our care. Before he proceeded further he might be allowed to say a word of personal explanation.

As he was, when a young man, one of the companions of the late Joseph Sturge, on his visit to the West Indies, he had had the opportunity of seeing a number of the slave colonies, and of making a general tour through Jamaica; and he had since kept up a correspondence with that island. It was very natural, therefore, that he should feel interested by the occurrences of October 1865. The Society of Friends, to which he belonged, had for many years had a Committee called "The Negro Education Committee," which had granted assistance in small annual sums to a great number of schools in various parts of Jamaica, and of course that Society had felt a very deep and painful interest, along with the general public, in the events he had alluded to. They felt, also, that it was necessary to send out a deputation, not only to make such inquiries as might be practicable and desirable in

regard to the disturbances, but also to visit the schools in various parts of the island, and see, as far as possible, what progress was being made, or whether, in fact, as they were sometimes told, things were not even retrograding in regard to the civilization and the higher interests of the population. Under those circumstances it would be easy for them to understand that he should feel drawn to revisit Jamaica, in which he had always felt an interest, and of which he had some personal and local knowledge; and it would also be seen why the Society to which he belonged should have looked to him as one of the very few persons who had been in the island before, to assist in carrying out their views in regard to a deputation. That was the simple explanation of his going out at the beginning of last year. Before saying a few words about Jamaica, he would mention a subject which had come very vividly under his own observation on the voyage out. There were, of course, a number of planters from the various colonies on board, with whom he had a good deal of conversation, and he had also leisure for the careful perusal of several blue-books about Jamaica. He could not say that what he learnt was altogether new, but he found that the West-India colonies generally were in a very satisfactory condition, as measured by a somewhat coarse test—their productions and their exports. It was very far from being true, as some people supposed, that, since the abolition of slavery, they had, for instance, almost ceased to produce sugar. The amount of sugar produced by our sugar colonies was larger now than at any former period. It was an interesting circumstance that that increase had taken place in different colonies under different conditions. In some colonies large numbers of Coolies had been imported, whilst in others there had been no immigration whatever. Looking at the prosperity of Barbadoes as an example, it was important that they should bear in mind that the same conditions had existed during Slavery as at present, so that it was a fair example of the success of free-labour, because every advantage that it possessed at the present time it had possessed in regard to the abundance of labour during Slavery. Turning, however, to Jamaica, they would find that it was in some respects a marked exception to the prosperity of the colonies generally. The production of sugar had declined from about 60,000 tons at the date of emancipation to half that quantity; nor was that the worst. Owing to the decline in the price of sugar, that quantity represented a much smaller value than it would have done thirty years ago, so that it would at once be seen that the resources of Jamaica, measured by its exports, were now not much more than one-third their amount at the time of the emancipation of the slaves, and this cutting off of two-thirds of the production and revenue of the country had very naturally produced what his friend Mr. Roundell had expressively termed "the conspicuous poverty" of Jamaica. The explanation of that was partly two-fold. Gentlemen who looked at a map would see that Jamaica was very much deeper in the Caribbean Sea than the smaller islands of the West Indies; in fact, it formed a sort of half-way-house to

Panama, and was besides very favourably situated with regard to Cuba. Those advantages of position had made it in former years a commercial dépôt, and a place carrying on an enormous trade with Cuba and the Spanish Main. Owing, however, to the introduction of steam navigation and the increase of wealth in those countries, they had opened a trade of their own with Europe and America, so that the intermediate trade of Jamaica had entirely ceased, and the mercantile population of the island had suffered in consequence. The second explanation was one he had already given: that was, the enormous decline in its production. If he was asked why Jamaica alone, amongst those large and important colonies, had undergone that decline, or rather had failed to recover from the inevitable re-action he would confess that it was not very easy to explain it, but he believed the true explanation was in the character of its government, and in the fact that, being a large community, it had a public opinion of its own, and was able so resist the external influence of the British Government and British public opinion, and so to put off those necessary changes and alterations which new circumstances required. They must recollect, that since 1834 the island had passed through what might be called two great revolutions—first, the abolition of slavery in 1834—taking full effect in 1838—and then, about eight years later, the almost sudden introduction of free-trade in sugar, and the abolition of their monopoly. Those changes demanded great forbearance on the part of the planters, great skill and tact in managing their labourers, great economy and energy in the conduct of their affairs, and the command of capital. He apprehended that none of those requirements did the planters, as a general rule, possess, and consequently we saw the island reduced to its present condition. In other colonies, changes of property, the transfer of estates from insolvent to solvent proprietors, and the wise measures adopted on the part of some, had led to a different state of things. To shew that that crying distress was no new thing, he might be allowed to read an extract: "The historian of Jamaica, Bryan Edwards, writing in 1792, says: 'The great mass (of proprietors) are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the colonies, with a hope, which perpetually eludes their grasp, of happier days.' In a statement put forth by the House of Assembly in 1792, we are told that in the course of the previous twenty years, 177 estates had been sold for payment of debts, and 92 more were in the hands of creditors, and that executions had been lodged in the Marshal's office for twenty-two and a half millions sterling." That was the state of things in 1792. To shew, however, that the distress which existed at present was not inevitable, he might mention, that whilst the island was in a state of adversity, there were a number of proprietors who were quite as prosperous as the proprietors of more prosperous colonies. He had, for instance, in his mind's eye, at that moment, a gentleman who was now one of the largest and most prosperous planters in Jamaica, but who had merely been an overseer upon a plantation when Slavery was

abolished. The same might be said of a number of others; and there were many estates in the island which, since that time, had largely increased their production of sugar. Having said those few words about the productions of the island, he should briefly discuss the state of the population. It might be supposed that, the island itself having declined, the labouring population, the great mass of the community, had fallen, along with others, into adversity. There were two or three very obvious tests which would settle that point. One was the test of population. From 1817 to 1829 there was a decrease in the slave population of 18,024, or very nearly one-half per cent per annum. In the latter year the number of slaves was 322,421, but in 1834, when Slavery was abolished, the ascertained number was 310,368, shewing a further decrease in the five years of 12,053. At that date the total population was 350,000, but in 1861 it was 441,000, of which the blacks alone numbered 346,374. They had thus increased by more than 36,000. If Slavery had not been abolished and the population had gone on decreasing at the rate at which it had done for many years, the number would have been 260,000; so that, if they went no further than that, he thought they would see the enormous gain to the general population, and to the happiness of that portion of their fellow-creatures, by the abolition of Slavery. It was almost unnecessary to speak of the more revolting accompaniments of Slavery—the whip, the stocks, fettters, and iron rings. All those of course had been abolished. He should allude, however, to the moral debasement of Slavery. Let them take the institution of marriage for instance. Until a very few years before the abolition of Slavery, marriage amongst slaves was a thing practically unknown. He had in his hand part of the biography of a very pious Moravian negro, a man born in Africa, of remarkable mental, moral, and Christian character. He was married in 1826, and this was the account he gave of his marriage. He said: "Some time afterwards I made a proposal of marriage to a young woman, whom I had known as one of the most regular attendants at the services in Mr Cooper's house, and she accepted it. My master and mistress were at first greatly opposed to this step, but were led eventually to withdraw their prohibition, and we were married on the 8th of June 1826. It was market-day, and the church was unusually filled. When the ceremony was about to commence, the whites present laughed aloud, and ridiculed us for thus thinking to make ourselves like our masters. The uproar was so great that the clergyman had considerable difficulty in obtaining a hearing while he addressed some words of earnest remonstrance to those present. His words were effectual in producing silence, and the service was completed." If a man of unusual force and excellence of character, the favourite of his master and mistress, had such difficulty in accomplishing his marriage, he would ask them to what extent they supposed marriage would prevail amongst the mass of the population. The same state of things existed with regard to the attendance at public worship and the liberty of worshipping. The auto-bio-

graphy he had quoted said, that on the proclamation of emancipation, before it actually took place, "the condition of the slaves was now quite changed, and no attempt was made to prevent any from attending meetings. Large numbers came to church from plantations on which such a thing had hitherto been almost impossible, on account of the cruel punishments with which the owners or managers visited all who were suspected or convicted of being church-goers: even the aged and the sick, who were scarcely able to crawl to the spot, would not be prevented from joining in our worship at Carmel." The mere removal of such moral obstacles as those was a gain which, they would all agree, it was impossible to estimate. If they looked at the thing in another point of view, it was pretty well ascertained that there were now in the island as many as 60,000 small freeholders, the vast majority of whom had been slaves. These men held small plots of ground on which they grew coffee, ginger, and provisions, and in average seasons were very comfortable. Their aggregate property amounted, he believed, to between two and three millions of money, and to shew the importance of that class, he would read a short extract from a despatch of Governor Eyre, dated August 12, 1864: "The small settlers and peasantry are rapidly taking an important position in the colony, and both contribute considerably to the export of coffee and minor productions, and consume largely imported goods, the duties upon which constitute the principal source of revenue." There could be no question at all as an evidence of the improved condition of the people, that, low as their social condition was in various respects, their diet, for instance, was much improved. Speaking of some exceptional cases, Mr. Harvey said that black men had sat in the Assembly, and there were black and coloured ministers amongst all religious bodies. In the Church of England, the head master of the school at Kingston was a black clergyman. The Baptists had as many as nineteen or twenty native ministers, who had been properly educated for the ministry; and the same might be said of the Independents, the Moravians, and, in fact, of all the religious bodies. If these black ministers were not fully equal to the whites, yet, considering their opportunities, they were certainly on a par with them. There were also, throughout the colony, a great number of black schoolmasters, some of whom were highly efficient; so that it was quite obvious that no deficiency of intellectual power or capacity could be attributed to the black or coloured races. Referring to the recent disturbances in the island, the speaker alluded to the fact that those disturbances were confined to a very small district. Exaggerated statements had been made with regard to the outbreak, which was said to be the result of a general conspiracy to murder all the white and coloured people throughout the whole island. After one of the most searching and minute investigations that ever took place under similar circumstances, he would venture to say that there was not one atom of evidence produced to confirm that impression of a general conspiracy. They had been told at the time of the outbreak that the bodies of the murdered persons were

frightfully mutilated, and Governor Eyre had reproduced these statements in his despatches, though he guarded them with an "it is said." The Commissioners inquired of medical men and others who had seen the bodies, and none of those statements were confirmed. Of course the bodies might be said to be mutilated, inasmuch as the murders had been committed with sticks, cutlasses, and rude weapons of that kind. He did not wish to say one word in mitigation of the fearful crimes committed in Morant Bay. He believed that they occurred to a large extent in hot blood, and were not premeditated, although the state of the parish was very unsatisfactory, and there was a disposition amongst the blacks to resist what they considered the oppression of the local magistrates. The outbreak had no political significance, and he did not think that they had the remotest idea of throwing off their allegiance to the Queen, or taking the country for themselves. A great crime was, however, committed by them, and one that no doubt required to be met with vigorous, but certainly not with cruel, means of repression. He did not see that there was any thing to prevent the capture of the wrongdoers, and their trial by a special commission, and had that been done the impression upon the population at large would have been most salutary. He had often conversed with the blacks whilst travelling through the island as to the manner in which they received the news of the outbreak, and he found that at first they were shocked and distressed, but that afterwards, when the news of the repression came, some reaction of feeling took place. It was very lamentable, he thought, that an opportunity for such a reaction should have been given. With regard to the scene of the outbreak, he might tell them that it was a neglected parish in regard to religious instruction, and that a great deal of bad feeling existed amongst the magistrates and upper classes, and had been going on for years. The vestries had been the scenes of perpetual controversies and disputes, and that had had a very demoralizing effect upon the peasantry. Connected with the general state of the population were the effects of a severe drought, which had extended over a large part of the island for nearly two years. That had been the cause of considerable distress, and they all knew that a calamity of that sort, affecting a whole population, and spread over a large space of time, would be very apt to be attended by a certain amount of discontent. There was, however, a great difference between a chronic feeling of dissatisfaction and an organized conspiracy against the Government or the owners of property. So far as he knew, that was the explanation of the late outbreak, and they must hope that there was no probability of any recurrence of the same description. In regard to the future, he thought that, looking at the position of the island, they could hardly part with the idea that Jamaica had a future; and when they considered the importance of those countries on the Pacific side of the American continent—countries where, as one might say, the farthest east and the remote west met together, Jamaica being a kind of a half-way-house between, he thought they would agree that it might again become a great commercial

centre. But whether it did or not, its interior resources were so great that they need be under no apprehension that it would be otherwise than a prosperous country, if it were fairly governed. He did not think it would ever be a great sugar-producing country. The present extent of its production might perhaps be maintained, but would hardly be exceeded. In other products which might be grown, however, especially by small farmers, its resources were very great, whilst its resources as a cattle-raising country were immense. At present the only difficulty was the want of a single foreign market. There were, moreover, new articles of wealth: the most important that he saw was the bamboo, which was being exported to America for the manufacture of paper, and that might grow into a trade of considerable magnitude. After all, what they must look to as a source of hope was in the changed character of the Government. There was no doubt that the present Government, which was, in fact, an administration by the Colonial-Office, through one of the ablest men they could find to take the responsibility of the Government, was one that was peculiarly suited to such a community; and they knew that they could not make any community prosperous by any thing they could do directly, but they could remove impediments to their prosperity; and if they could but ensure them good government, there was no doubt upon his mind that Jamaica would prosper, and become a happy, and even a wealthy community. (Applause.)

#### MR. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., ON MARTIAL LAW.

We have received several communications on the subject of the position which Mr. W. E. Forster has assumed, in relation to the question of the Jamaica massacres. Some of our friends appear to think it was our duty to condemn his course in these columns, and our silence on the subject is construed into an approval of it. Whether we are open to the charge of having dealt too gently with a gentleman who has always been a consistent advocate of the rights of the negro, is a question which may certainly admit of two opinions. If we have not in so many words expressed, in these columns, our regret at the position Mr. Forster has assumed in relation to these sad events, we have none the less considered his views erroneous, and lamented that he held opinions which tended, in his estimation, to exonerate Mr. Eyre from legal responsibility, for the assassination of Mr. Gordon. We are at this time painfully impressed with the unfortunate effect which the publication of Mr. Forster's views has produced upon the minds of many thinking men, who, holding his judgment in high respect, have, in this instance, mistrusted their own, and been led away into a neutrality of action, which has paralyzed effort in many directions. We have been asked whether it was our

intention to publish his remarks on the subject of martial law, made at Leeds on the 9th of January last, at the breakfast given to Mr. Thomas Harvey. In placing those observations on record, we must also express our dissent from them, and we really believe a time will come, when the honourable gentleman, enlightened by the exposition of law on this intricate subject, will see reason to change his opinion.

The chairman, in his excellent introductory remarks, had said that that was a meeting which was not called upon to express an opinion with regard to the conduct of the late authorities in Jamaica. He was very glad of that for two reasons, first, that although he could hardly say a word upon the question without repeating that he was still unable to agree with some of his friends in thinking that a prosecution ought to have been instituted against Governor Eyre—and he would not for a moment blame those who thought it their duty to join in such a prosecution—yet he thought that whether they were in favour of that prosecution or against it, they must feel, that as it appeared likely that a court of law would have to decide that question, the time had gone past for much public opinion to be expressed, until the verdict had been heard. He was also glad that a meeting of those interested on behalf of the negro should be held without much allusion to that question, because he had feared lest the immediate good government of Jamaica would be somewhat lost sight of in that most interesting question of what blame should attach to the late Executive, and the most important constitutional questions thereby brought before us. He was, therefore, very glad to find that so many gentlemen had met together to consider how they could best advocate the future interests of the island. But looking solely at that question, there was one point which would oblige him in some little degree to allude to what had happened. He thought that more than one lesson ought to be learnt from the late events in Jamaica, but certainly this lesson—that whoever is responsible for the government of the island should carefully look through its statute-book, and see that there are no statutes left that are the remnant of the old slave legislation; and especially he thought that attention ought to be directed to that Act under which Governor Eyre had declared martial law. He thought he could make a remark or two upon that point without entering into the question of blame or not on the part of Governor Eyre, and he wanted to explain to them the great difference between Jamaica and England up to this time, as regarded the protection of the liberty of the person. In Jamaica there was that Act which provided for the declaration of martial law, which thereby appeared to acknowledge the suspension of law, and to look upon it as a course that might be taken in the government of the island. It was with that opinion that martial law was declared, and the words used by Governor Eyre in his proclamation were these: "We do hereby, by the authority committed to us by the laws of this our island, declare that martial law shall prevail," &c.

That was the position of Jamaica. But what was the position of England? The position of England was, that ever since the Petition of Right, the declaration of martial law was in itself illegal, quite independent of any acts that might be committed under it. Taking into account that difference between England and Jamaica, he believed in the English principle. He believed that it was far better that the declaration of martial law should be illegal, and that our ancestors had left us one of their very best legacies in leaving upon our English statute-book a clear declaration to that effect. And why? Because martial law really meant the suspension of all law whatever; it meant the abolition for the time of all the safeguards of life and property, which had been the accumulation of the fruits of the labours for centuries of men who cared for their freedom; and it meant that these should be replaced by the belief of the chief magistrate or chief governor, whoever he might be, that what he did was necessary for good government. Consequently it was a replacement of law by the arbitrary power of the Executive. He would not say that, under any government, possibilities might not occur in which, for the preservation of order, such a suspension might be necessary, but he believed that it never ought to be provided for, or acknowledged, or anticipated by the law; that it ought, if it were done, to be done as a matter of extreme necessity, so extreme that it would carry its own justification with it, and would in itself require no indemnity. He did not think martial law ought ever to be used as a mode of government, or for the purpose of punishment, but only in extreme cases for the purposes of absolute necessity. But if they had it upon the statute-book as it was in Jamaica, then it was almost inevitably looked upon by governors and the governing powers as a mode of government, and so it had been acted upon in Jamaica, and in the West-India Islands. That was by no means the first time in which martial law had been declared there, and it had been declared in the other islands quite recently. In St. Vincent's, for example, it had been declared not long ago. In fact, a late governor of one of the West-India Islands had told him in private conversation that he believed that in former days, during the existence of Slavery, martial law used to be declared generally at Christmas—(laughter)—because at that time the negroes had a holiday, and it was thought better to do away with law, and have the will of the Executive for a time. He was well aware that there were several gentlemen, for whose opinions he had the highest respect, who thought that there was not very much necessity to get rid of that statute in Jamaica, because they did not think that it had in itself any validity. They thought that it was impossible for a colonial statute, even when sent out by the home Government, and acknowledged by the home Government and the authorities in the island to be the law of the island, to be valid and have legal effect when it was contrary to English law and the principles of that law. He would not enter into the question, as he did not think it affected his argument that it was most desirable that that law should be taken out of the statute-book, because, whether or not they were right in

thinking so, there could be no question that Governor Eyre and his council considered that that Jamaica statute had power and validity, and that they were acting legally in declaring martial law in accordance with its provisions. What he said was, that whatever might be their opinion as to Governor Eyre's conduct, if they regretted late events, if they regretted the mode in which that insurrection was suppressed—and he did not suppose there was any one present who did not regret it, whatever amount of blame, or whether any blame at all, might attach to the governor—they must all be of opinion that it was most necessary, not only for the good government of the island in the future, but even from common justice to the governors themselves, that no future governor should be placed in such a false position as that of having such an Act upon the statute-book. Let them observe the difference between the position of a governor with that Act, which he believed, rightly or wrongly, to have the force of law, and his position without it. With such an Act upon the statute-book of the law of the land which he was sent out to administer, he felt that, under certain circumstances he was entrusted with arbitrary power. Whenever an insurrection or a disturbance of the peace occurred, there were sure to be many persons pressing upon him the necessity of making use of that power, and he would feel, that if he did not make use of it, and if the insurrection were not quickly suppressed, he should be blamed, not only by public opinion in the island, but very likely by the authorities at home, for not having made use of those powers which he had within his reach. But if there were no such Act upon the statute-book, he would feel that, in taking half-step, he was seizing upon arbitrary power; he would feel that there was an awful responsibility in doing that: he was doing what was in itself an illegal thing, and not only would he naturally require a more extreme necessity—and he thought he ought to have a very extreme necessity before he resorted to such a measure—but while it was enforced he would feel all the difference between making use of a discretion which he had himself seized at his own responsibility, and making use of a discretion with which he was entrusted; he would feel all the difference between making use of arbitrary power given to him by the law and making use of arbitrary power which he had seized at his own risk. He thought, therefore, that what was to his mind the greatest excuse for Governor Eyre was the greatest argument against the existence of that Act. The greatest excuse for Mr. Eyre was, that he thought that, under certain circumstances, he was ordered to do what he thought best, irrespective of law; so that, unless they supposed he acted with a wrong personal motive, they were almost driven to the supposition that he had done what was thought to be best, and therefore it was difficult for some of them to know how they could punish him for doing what he had been ordered to do. But how had that best resulted? It had resulted in facts of which they were all ashamed, and it had resulted in what he had called in the House of Commons, and what he could scarcely speak of without again calling a legal massacre, or at least a massacre under the form of law, batches of fifteen or twenty men being hung day

after day, after such a trial as made it impossible to ascertain whether they were guilty or not, for weeks after the peace of the island had been restored. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, they should have no laws left on the statute-book of that colony that should tempt governors to the exercise of such a power. Some of them might wonder why he dwelt so much upon that when the case seemed so plain. But he was not at all clear that it would be a very easy thing to get rid of those Acts. Two reasons might be alleged why they should not do so, neither of which, however, had any force to him. It would be said, in the first place: "We lament these occurrences, but better than the preservation of individual life or even the prevention of injustice or cruelty, is the prevention of absolute anarchy;" and there were persons who would say, "Martial law saved the island of Jamaica, therefore do not make it difficult for martial law to be declared." He did not believe martial law did save the island of Jamaica. He thought the declaration of martial law, and what was done under martial law, in Jamaica, taught them two things; first, that martial law did not put down that insurrection; and secondly, that whatever might be the wish to administer martial law well, it could not be administered well; in fact, they let the devil loose when they declared martial law and they could not help it. Some gentlemen might be surprised at his saying that martial law did not put the insurrection down, but he believed he was right in saying that the efforts of the troops had put it down and restored peace before martial law was put into operation. The hangings under martial law did not really begin until peace was restored. What was the lesson he drew from that? He did not blame Governor Eyre for declaring martial law, because he thought that with that Act staring him in the face, not one Governor out of a hundred would have declined to do it. The lesson it taught him was, that martial law never ought to be declared as an easy mode of government, or as an easy mode even of restoring peace; it never ought to be declared unless it was absolutely necessary for the restoration of peace and the preservation of order. And how would they judge whether it was absolutely necessary? He should say that the governor must have reason to believe that the troops could not act with effect without the declaration of martial law. The troops must be able to act with effect, they must restore peace at any sacrifice of life, otherwise they would have a state of anarchy; but he thought there was no justification for the suspension of all law except the fact driven upon the minds of the authorities, that the troops could not act effectually without the declaration of martial law, and he did not believe that was the case in Jamaica. Another reason which might be urged why we should keep such Acts as that in force was, that, after all, English precedents did not apply to such an island as Jamaica, where they had to deal with difference of race and colour. England, it would be said, only held her power over subject races by using it, and being able to use it, and its being known that she could use it in a manner in which English power would not be used over Englishmen. In the special case of Jamaica, at any rate, he did not

believe that argument. If it applied at all, it told the other way—it told in this way: that such was the feeling of race amongst us, the prejudice which almost irresistibly attached to those who from circumstances were a superior race to others, that he believed what they wanted was a safeguard against misusing power, rather than a temptation to misuse it; and he believed it was utterly impossible for a man of good character, like Governor Eyre, to allow such things to be done in Jamaica as were done, if he had not been unconsciously affected by the race feeling. But men might say, "After all, the necessity of Government is that it should be strong and should keep order, and you cannot rule such a population as that in Jamaica without that power." There he again differed from them. He believed that those negroes were as easily governed as any of the inhabitants of these islands, and he thought that late events had tended to confirm that. No one for a moment would dispute that atrocities were committed in those murders, but really if they read their own police reports pretty attentively it was not for them, considering what came constantly before their assizes and their magistrates, to condemn the whole of the negro population of the West Indies because of those atrocities. And again he must say, that if England had been governed in the way in which Jamaica was now acknowledged to have been governed—if it had been possible for any high official in England to have made such a speech about the administration of justice as Sir John Grant had made a few weeks ago—he did not mean to say that we should have had outrageous murders, such as happened in Jamaica, but we should have had a resistance to Government which would have been more organized and more difficult to deal with than was the resistance in Jamaica. And if there had been, though it was impossible there ever should be, such acts exercised in the suppression of disturbances, in these islands as took place in Jamaica, we should have had a greater feeling of revenge against the authorities than, he was happy to believe, existed amongst the negroes of the West Indies. He did not think, therefore, that it was more difficult to govern Jamaica upon the principles of English justice and the protection of life against the arbitrary power of the executive than any other of those islands. He had only further to say that he had been grieved of late to see it stated very often in the public press, and sometimes by men of influence and position, that we must not be too particular with regard to these things; that the condition upon which we held the enormous power we exercised over two hundred millions of people was, that we must shew every now and then that fierceness, that old Berserker rage which we got from our northern ancestors, in our dealing with those people, and that, in fact, we did hold our rule over them by showing them every now and then the ferocity which laid under the surface of the English character. He believed there never was a greater mistake. We did not hold or keep our power over subject races by the exercise of that ferocity, but by the exercise of the strength which was in us. He did not dispute, for they could not dispute, that that ferocity was the

temptation of our strength; it was the temptation which always attached to those who were stronger than their neighbours; but they must struggle with it and resist it. And it was not because we had shewn every now and then a perfect reckless fury when we had been drawn into difficulties in dealing with subject peoples, that we held our power over them, but it was because we had, and were responsible to God for having, those great qualities of strength and endurance, that we held our power over these races. Let them take the case of India. It was not by the fierceness we shewed that we came out of the Indian mutiny more powerful than we went in, but it was because of the virtues we shewed during that mutiny, because in many a case an Englishman alone, surrounded by dangers appalling to think of, did not allow his courage to be shaken by those dangers, but did his duty to his country and his superiors, quite reckless of any danger to his own life. We had put that mutiny down, and then came the temptation to revenge ourselves upon the people, and we did things in India which ought to make us all ashamed now, although they were done under greater temptation than we had in Jamaica. But it was not such fierce and ferocious acts which had given us our power over Jamaica. No man whose opinion on the subject was worth thinking of would say that those deeds were not now a great difficulty in the Government of the island. He did not know whether any of them had read in Froude's History of the Reign of Elizabeth, in the last chapter of his last volume, his description of the government of Ireland at the time. They would see from it that at that time we acted towards Ireland, and good men, some of the best Englishmen of the day, acted towards her, very much as we had lately acted towards Jamaica. And what had been the result? Would any one for a moment dispute that our great difficulty in Ireland was the remembrance of these acts. Let us, then, most earnestly endeavour, that inasmuch as the black population of Jamaica was now gradually rising to be a community of some power of maintaining itself, it should not have any recollection of oppressive rule such as we had now to contend with in Ireland; and let us take advantage of what he believed to be the forgiving nature of the negro character, to wipe away, by good government for the future, the remembrance of any thing that had been wrong in the past. They might depend upon it that if we did not do our duty to our subject races we should not merely lose our government over them—lose our government we certainly should. We should lose our power, as the Spaniards did, if we did not act with justice towards them. But it would not merely be a loss of rule that would be the penalty we should have to pay; it would be that penalty a nation was as sure to have to pay as an individual, if it had a great duty imposed upon it by God which duty it did not perform. We had undertaken that most responsible and awful task of training up for civilization and Christianity hundreds of millions of our fellow-creatures. If we did not perform that duty we should stand before history as those who had undertaken that which, from selfish motives, they had refused to do; and Eng-

land would lose, not only her prestige and her power, but her position amongst the nations, for not having performed it. (Applause.) Turning to the special object for which they met that day, he did not think that he was saying too much, or more than was due to Mr. Harvey, in saying that he was one of those—and he was thankful to say that they were not few—who were endeavouring to ward off from our country the consequences of its nonfulfilment of its duty. (Loud applause.)

#### MR. SUMNER ON NATIONAL EQUAL RIGHT.

ON the 18th January last the Honourable Charles Sumner presented to the Senate the petition of the National Equal Rights League Convention of coloured men held in Washington, January 10th, 11th, 12th, 1867, on which occasion he made the following remarks :

In presenting this very important petition, I shall not err if I call the attention of the Senate especially to its prayer. They say thus :

"Wherever your jurisdiction extends, and especially throughout all the Territories lately in rebellion, where States are in due time to be reconstructed, and the whole subject of the rights and franchises of citizenship is to be adjusted, there we ask you to secure to our people impartial suffrage and all the rights and privileges of American citizens, equality before the laws of our country."

They then proceed to say :

"Permit us further to remind you that the loyal whites throughout the portion of our country lately in rebellion unite with one voice to implore you to make the elective franchise impartial, irrespective of race or colour, believing it to be essential to their own safety as well as to ours, and altogether vital to the effective reconstruction of civil government and the ascendancy of loyal citizens in its administration."

In enforcing this prayer the petitioners dwell with admirable effect on the promises of the Declaration of Independence, which they ask Congress to carry out; and they conclude as follows :

"We ask a reconstruction therefore, gentlemen, which, founded on impartial justice, brings safety and peace to the loyal white American, happiness and prosperity to our common country, while it is the shield and buckler, the strong defence of the American freedmen. Our plea is before you."

This petition is signed by John M. Langston, President of the National Equal Rights League Convention of Coloured Men and by the three Secretaries of the Convention.

You do not forget, Mr. President, that Lord Chatham, when the papers of the American Congress reached England, declared from his seat in Parliament that there was nothing in the political history of mankind which he had read with more respect and admiration. He pronounced those papers to be master-pieces. But I venture to say, Sir, that among the papers at that time laid before Parliament there were none to which that designation was more entirely ap-

plicable than to this memorial, and to the resolutions adopted at the same time by that Convention. That Convention was held here in Washington. Numerous as it was, and composed of delegates from seventeen States, it is perhaps not too much to characterize it as in itself a congress—a congress of coloured persons held here in the national capital in order to plead with you, Sir, on the critical condition of the country.

I have said that seventeen States were represented. These were, Kansas, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Massachusetts, and California, and also the District of Columbia. The number of delegates was 110. They represented well nigh all the callings of life. There was one lawyer among them, and he was their President—John M. Langston, of Ohio. There were also among them two doctors, B. W. Arnett and H. J. Brown, of Pennsylvania. There were three bishops, Wayman, Green, and Talbot; ten ministers of the Gospel; three professors of colleges; five school-teachers; five graduates from colleges; three professional lecturers; two editors and publishers of newspapers; two grocers; one merchant; two cotton-planters; a large number of mechanics and farmers; one ex-captain and two ex-lieutenants of the United-States' service, and three ex-chaplains. Let me add to this characterization that a large majority of the delegates were once slaves, and many of them gained their freedom through the recent war.

I think, Sir, I do not err when I say that such a Convention of coloured people assembled here in the national capital is in itself an event; but if you will only carry out their prayer, you will create an epoch in the history of this country and in the history of civilization. Sir, in their prayer I unite absolutely, and gladly place myself by their side.

I ask that this petition be referred to the joint Committee on Reconstruction.

It was so referred.

#### FLOGGING IN TRINIDAD AND DEMERARA.

THE *Morning Advertiser* of the 27th ult. contains the following communication from "a correspondent:"

It appears that the recent disgraceful cruelties in Jamaica, the flogging of women with piano-forte wires, and the wholesale hanging of innocent persons, have met with imitators in the neighbouring colony of Demerara. As an illustration of this retrograde tendency in the administrative officials of the latter colony, we may refer our readers to the sickening details of severe floggings lately inflicted there for the trivial offence of stealing a few plantains, as recorded in the *Trinidad Chronicle* for November 9, 1866. It is, in particular, the unfortunate negroes and coolies who are so liberally visited with this favourite West-Indian mode of "vivisection."

A philanthropic English baronet (Sir Walter C. Trevelyan) has, on hearing of the above atrocities, forwarded to a correspondent in the

colony the following protest, which, with his permission, has been handed to us for publication by Mr. William Tallack, secretary of the Howard Association, of which Sir Walter is a patron:

"I can scarcely express the horror I felt at the perusal, in the *Trinidad Chronicle*, of the narrative of the brutal and barbarous punishment inflicted on the stealers of plantains in Demerara.

"Flogging has been in some cases revived in the criminal legislation of the mother country; yet I believe that, by people who have seriously thought on the subject, it is considered rather a retrogression than an advance in our legislation, and that it is a punishment which has an injurious, hardening, and brutalizing effect, both on the spectator and the sufferer. Certainly it is a most unequal and unfair mode of punishment, the pain inflicted depending so much on the constitution and temperament of the criminal, that, if it is to be continued, some means should be devised to prevent the injustice which is so clearly shewn in the narrative, of making some of those whose punishment was evidently intended to be the lightest the greatest sufferers.

"Thus at the recent Demerara floggings, one individual, after receiving twenty-five lashes, 'seemed to care very little for what he had undergone,' while another 'was about to succumb' at the twentieth blow, when the surgeon stopped the infliction of more; and to a third unfortunate wretch, whose pulse had disappeared after the second blow, a third would probably have proved fatal, and it is not at all improbable that he may already have fallen a victim to 'the shock his system had received' from two blows, or, if not, that he has been seriously injured for life."

We do not receive the *Trinidad Chronicle*, nor have we heard of the floggings in Demerara to which the foregoing communication refers. But we fear the practice of inflicting this punishment is only too common in our West-India Colonies, in most of which the hellish spirit of Slavery still exists. If any of our correspondents in these colonies are in possession of any authentic cases of flogging, we shall feel obliged by their sending us the details, as also a copy of the enactments under which the punishment has been inflicted.

### Review.

*Illustrations of Martial Law in Jamaica;*  
by JOHN GORRIE, Advocate. London:  
65 Fleet Street.

THE pamphlet bearing the foregoing title is the sixth number of the series of "Jamaica Papers" issued by the Jamaica Committee; and the writer is the same Mr. Gorrie who was sent out to Jamaica by that body, in the capacity of their counsel before the Royal Commission. Mr. Gorrie closes his terrible record with the observation, that his "task will not have been undertaken in vain if it tends to deepen the resolve of 'his' countrymen to resist, at all hazards, the preposterous pretensions

of Colonial Governors and military officers, to deal with human life and property as they please, without responsibility to the laws which bind society together, or to the nation which places the sword in their hands for the purposes of justice and mercy." We, too, may be permitted to express the hope that those who are already satisfied of the terrible character of the "repressive measures" adopted by Mr. Eyre, will contribute to obtain the widest possible circulation for Mr. Gorrie's pamphlet, for the information of those who either wholly discredit the allegations against the parties commissioned to execute martial law, or who, willing to believe some atrocities were committed, nevertheless consider them to be susceptible of palliation, but who will not credit they were of the ruffianly, sanguinary nature proved against them in evidence before the Royal Commission. To such, and to the class who subscribe to the "Eyre Defence Fund," Mr. Gorrie's pamphlet ought to be convincing, if they have any faith whatever in testimony given on oath, and established, by the severest cross-examination, as in all respects worthy of record. It is simply a careful compilation of facts from those "ghastly volumes" which comprise the evidence taken before the Royal Commissioners, and from the series of Blue Books on the subject of the Jamaica massacres, which have been laid before Parliament. It was not to be expected that the contents of these terrible records would ever reach the public in their official form, wherefore the Jamaica Committee asked Mr. Gorrie to undertake the task of condensing them, and supplementing what was necessary to reconcile certain discrepancies in the evidence, of which the utmost possible was made at the time, with a view to disparage the testimony of some of the negro witnesses. For instance, a poor creature, one Sarah Robinson, came to Spanish Town, of her own accord, to tell the Commissioners that her husband and his brother had been hanged by Ramsay, at Morant Bay, the same inhuman monster having also put her into prison. Wrought up to frenzy, she gave the most exaggerated accounts of what she had actually seen, and spoke of acts she had not really witnessed, and which were not proved. Because her evidence was not borne out, in some particulars, the whole was discredited; yet there was no doubt her husband and his brother were hanged, as their names were found entered on the lists of the executed. Mr. Gorrie asserts and affirms that all the leading acts of atrocity deposed to by the negroes were substantially corroborated by the evidence of the officers, or the white and coloured inhabitants. He says: "Among

them may be mentioned the shooting of ten untried prisoners by one black soldier; the hanging up, in a chapel, of the bodies of nine prisoners who had been shot; the flogging by wire-cats; the execution of peasantry at their own doors by soldiers, and in a few cases by order of officers; the executing of prisoners, day after day, at Morant Bay, on a gallows which gave no drop; the compulsory attendance of untried prisoners at the executions; the reckless burnings of hundreds of homes; the hanging of persons who had been first flogged, and the flogging of persons who were untried: in short, the hideous details of what Mr. Roundell, the indefatigable and impartial Secretary of the Commission, has justly called 'the hell-like saturnalia of martial law,' were all most fully substantiated out of the mouths of others than negro witnesses."

Mr. Gorrie has observed the precaution of giving ample references to the questions and answers in the bulky appendix to the Commissioners' report, with a view to enable the incredulous to substantiate the facts he sets forth. Another great convenience will be found in the page of "Contents," classifying, under appropriate heads, the various misdeeds that were committed, so that the reader can at once refer to any particular case, and find there all the material evidence relating to it. Thus the opening chapter, headed "Ex-Governor Eyre," is a record of the outbreak, which also shews that the mutilations dwelt upon by him, in his earlier despatches, were never perpetrated upon the unfortunate persons who were killed by the negroes in front of the Court-house at Morant Bay; and though Mr. Eyre had ample opportunity of ascertaining the facts, and probably did so, he never contradicted his first assertions, but left them to deepen the effect their publication on authority was probably intended to produce.

The limited space at our command precludes us from giving extracts from this useful pamphlet, but we hope it will soon

be in the hands of all who have taken our view of the Jamaica atrocities, and that they will use their utmost efforts to promote its circulation in other quarters.

*Now Ready, 8vo, Limp Cloth, Price 1s. 6d.*

### JAMAICA IN 1866.

A NARRATIVE OF A TOUR THROUGH THE ISLAND, with Remarks on its Social, Educational, and Industrial Condition. By THOMAS HARVEY and WILLIAM BREWIN.

London: A. W. BENNETT, 5 Bishopsgate Street Without.

### DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS 1867.

WE beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the following Donations and Subscriptions received since our last:

|  | Donations. Ann. Sub. |
|--|----------------------|
|  | £ s. d. £ s. d.      |
| Alexander, Edward, Jun.,<br>Glasgow . . .    | 1 0 0                |
| Backhouse, Katharine,<br>Darlington . . .    | 1 0 0                |
| Boys, Jacob, Brighton .                      | 1 1 0                |
| Brown, Potto, Houghton .                     | 1 1 0                |
| Cash, S. M., London .                        | 0 10 0               |
| Charleton, Elizabeth,<br>Bristol . . .       | 4 16 0               |
| Foster, Mary, Truro .                        | 1 0 0                |
| Glaisher, J. H., London .                    | 0 10 0               |
| Hack, Daniel P., Bright-<br>ton . . .        | 1 0 0                |
| Harris, Lydia, London .                      | 1 1 0                |
| Haughton, James, Dublin .                    | 0 10 0               |
| Marsh, John, Dorking .                       | 1 0 0                |
| Parmiter, Elizabeth,<br>Thornbury Plain . .  | 0 10 0               |
| Phillips, Rev. T., London .                  | 0 10 0               |
| Richardson, Anna H.,<br>Newcastle . . .      | 0 10 0               |
| Schelcher, Victor, London .                  | 1 0 0                |
| Shephard, M. H., York .                      | 0 10 0               |
| Trevelyan, A. Esq., J. P.,<br>Trannant . . . | 2 2 0                |
| Tweedy, Ann, Truro .                         | 1 0 0                |
| Webster, Rev. G. E., Grun-<br>disburgh . . . | 0 10 0               |

### FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*I give unto the Treasurer or Treasurers, for the time being, of "The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," established in London in the year 1839, the sum of Pounds Sterling, to be raised and paid for the purposes of the said Society, or of such part only of my Personal Estate as shall not consist of Chattels real or money secured on Mortgage of Lands or Tenements, or in any other manner affecting Lands or Tenements; and for which the receipt of such Treasurer or Treasurers shall be a sufficient discharge.*

LONDON: Printed by WILLIAM MAYOR WATTS, No. 12, Crown Court, Pickett Place, Strand, in the Parish of St. Clement Danes, in the County of Middlesex; and published at the Office of the Society, No. 27, New Broad Street, in the Parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in the City of London.—FRIDAY, MARCH 1, 1867.

Registered for transmission abroad.]